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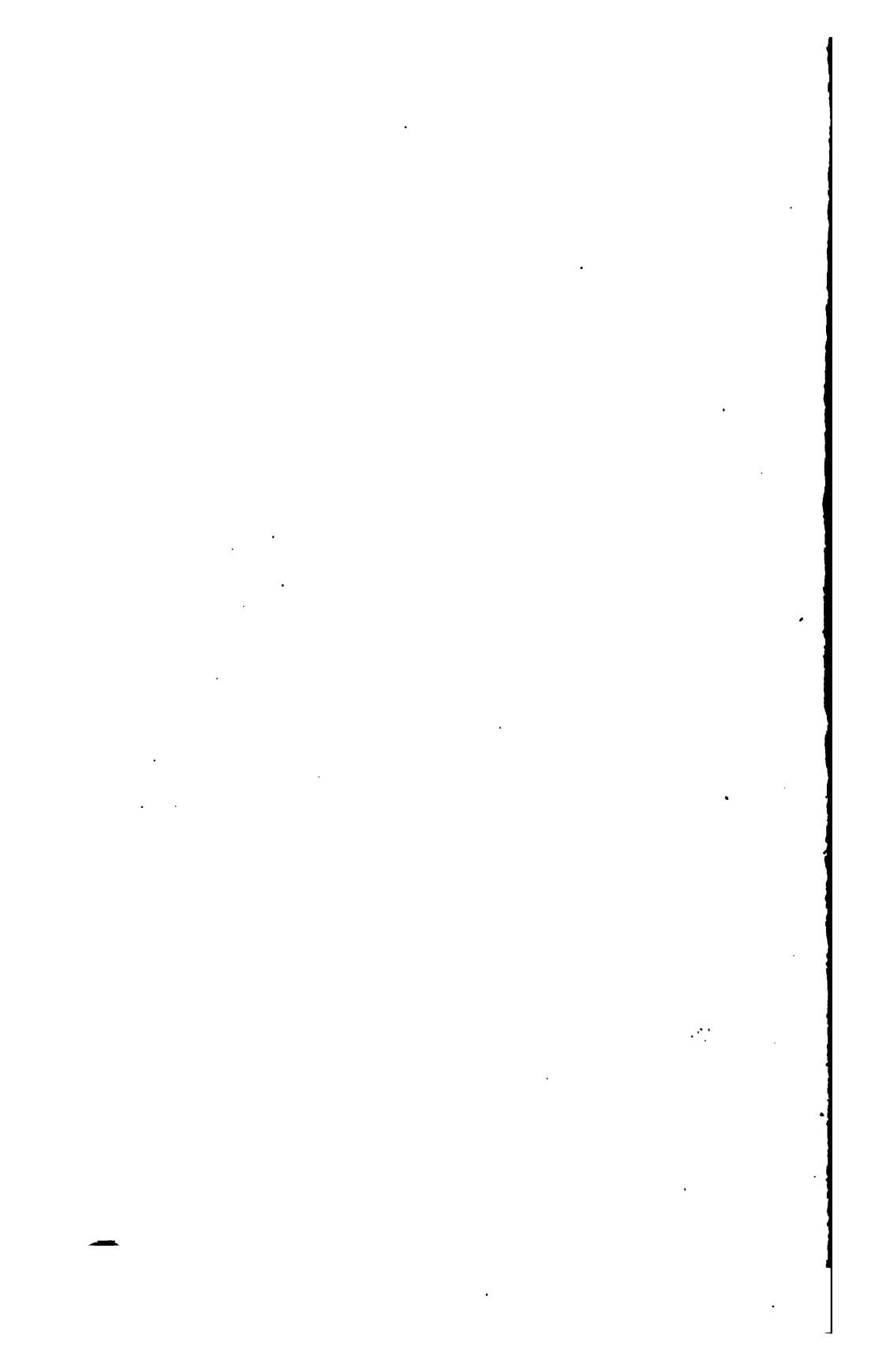
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THE LAW AND CUSTOM OF THE CONSTITUTION

ANSON

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THE LAW AND CUSTOM OF THE CONSTITUTION

ANSON

London
HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
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THE
LAW AND CUSTOM
OF THE
CONSTITUTION

PART I

PARLIAMENT

BY

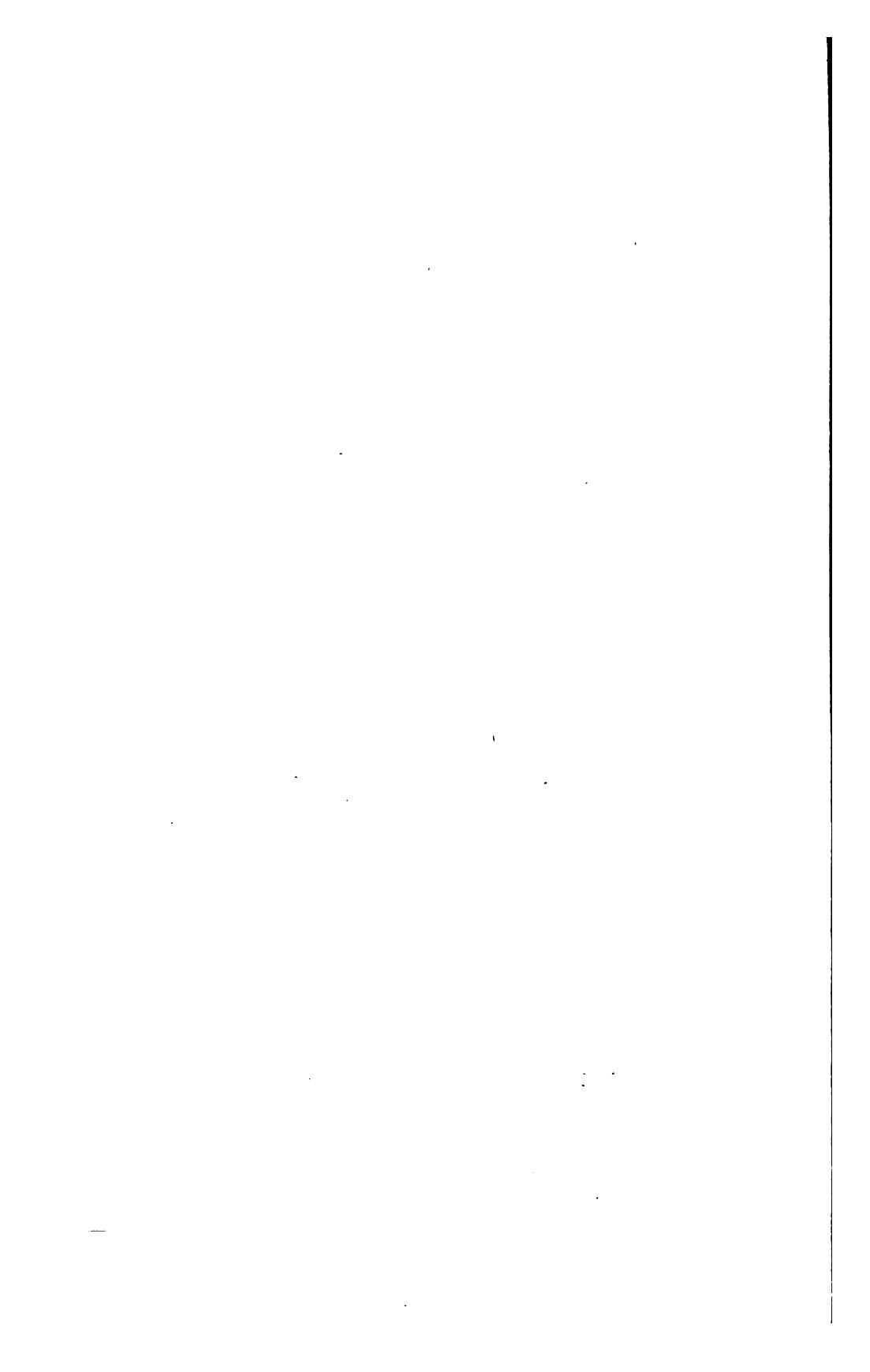
SIR WILLIAM R. ANSON, BART., D.C.L.

OF THE INNER TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW
WARDEN OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD

Oxford
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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P R E F A C E.

I HAVE endeavoured in this book to state the law relating to existing institutions, with so much of history as is necessary to explain how they have come to be what they are. The student of constitutional law realises at every turn the truth of Dr. Stubbs' saying, that 'the roots of the present lie deep in the past.' Nevertheless a writer who wishes to describe our present constitution and its relations to the past, finds himself involved in difficulty, if he begins at the beginning. It is impossible to keep our institutions abreast along the course of history, from the Witenagemot to the Redistribution Act, without putting a severe strain upon the attention of the reader, and probably, in the end, sacrificing law to history, the present to the past. The lawyer primarily wants to know what an institution is, and then, the circumstances of its growth. I have tried to satisfy his first requirement, and, as to his second, to put him in the way of obtaining more knowledge than I can pretend to possess.

Nor again, have I attempted to delineate the law of our constitution after the manner of Professor Dicey. He has drawn with unerring hand those features which distinguish our constitution from others, and has given us a picture which can hardly fail to impress itself on the mind with a sense of reality. I have tried to map out a portion of its surface and to fill in the details. He has done the work of an artist. I have tried to do the work of a surveyor.

I have dealt, in this volume, solely with Parliament, and

hope in a subsequent volume to deal with the Executive. Writing for students, I have treated some matters more fully and others less fully than the practical lawyer may think necessary ; but where I have been brief I do not pretend to have written with a reserve of knowledge, and I have often said no more because I had no more to say.

W. R. A.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,
March 1886.

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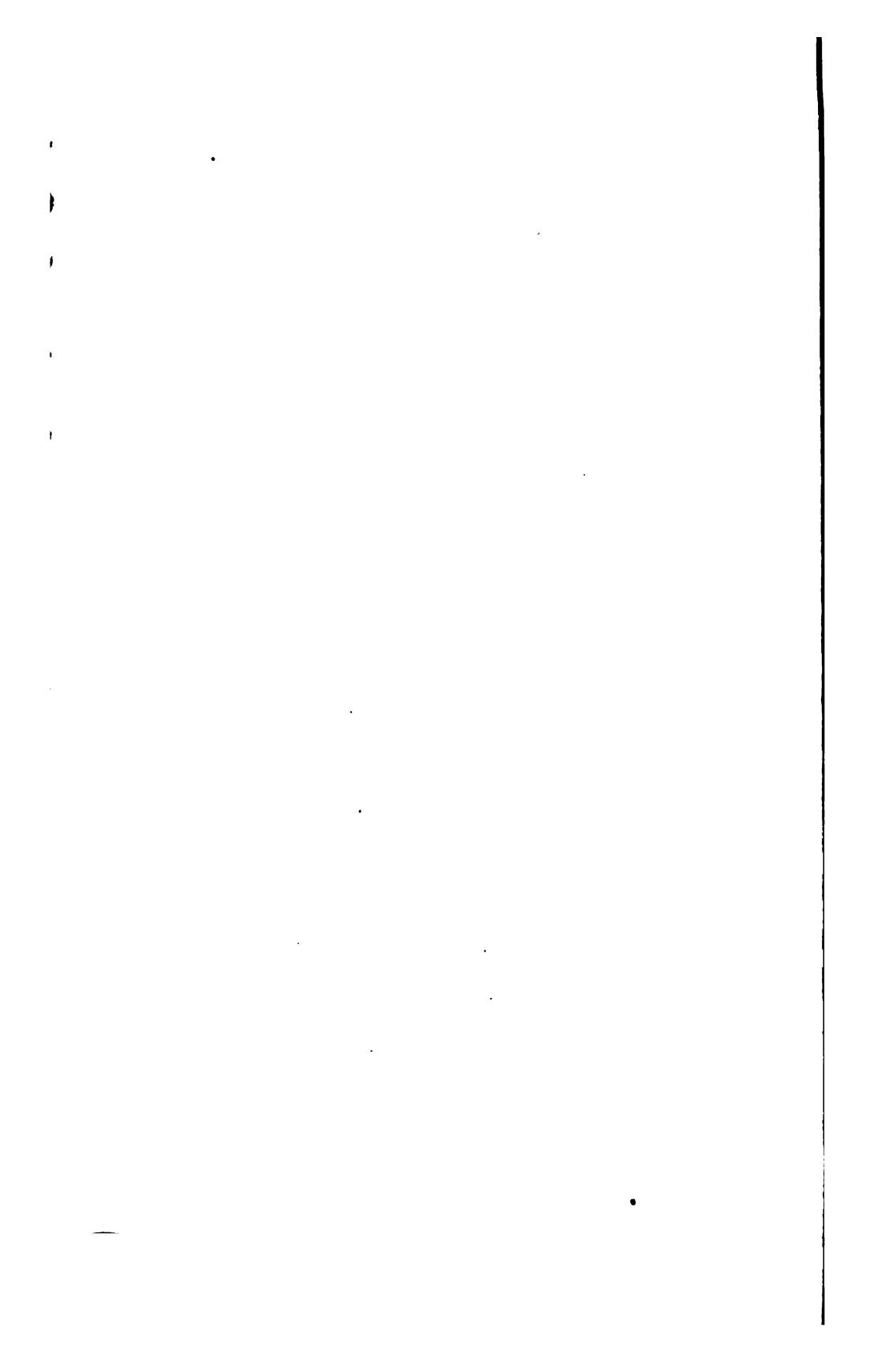
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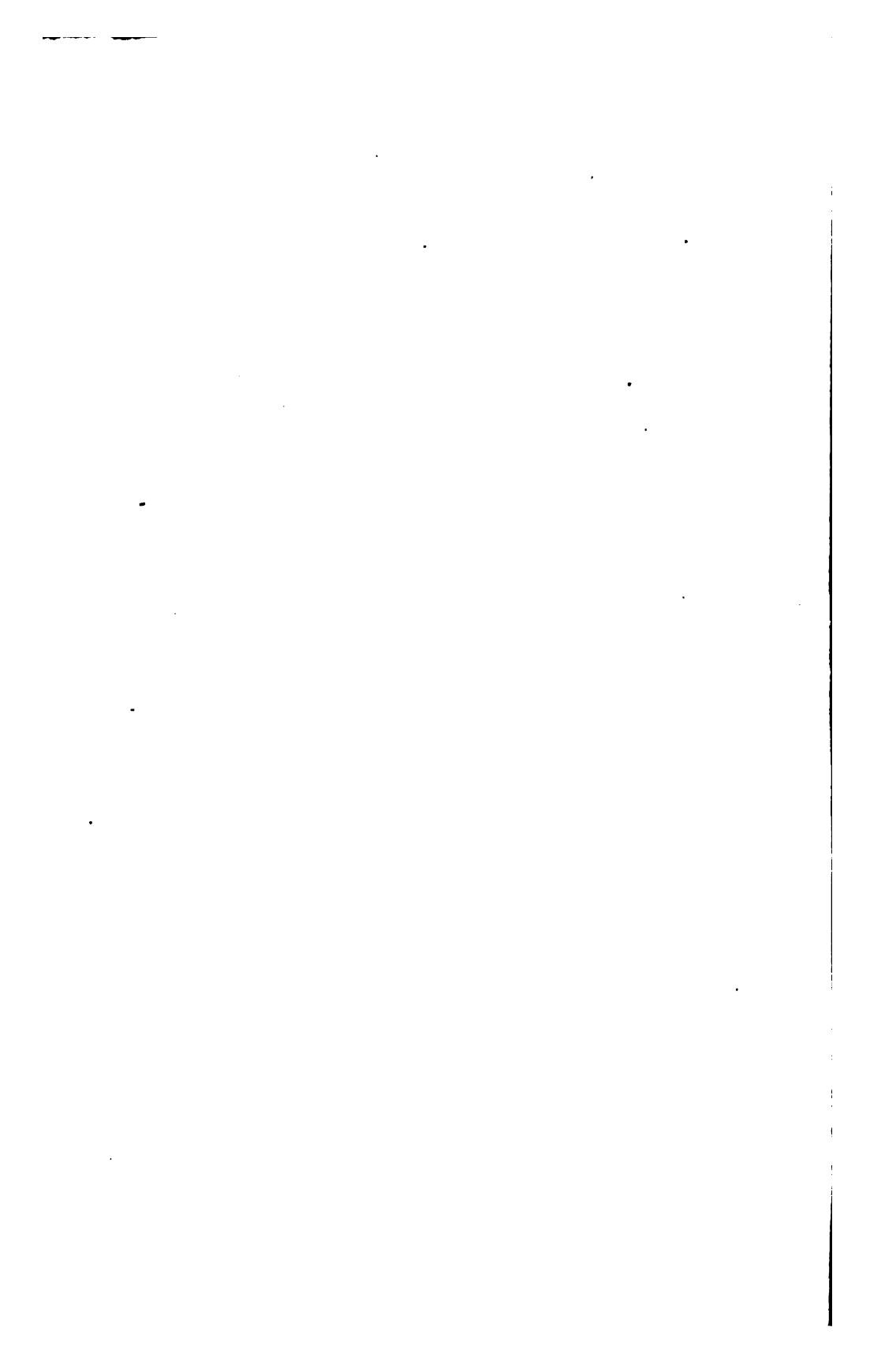


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CHAPTER I.

THE PLACE OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN JURISPRUDENCE.

A book which professed to be a treatise on the English Constitution might well consist of such various ingredients as to make it very desirable to attempt at the outset some limitation or definition of the subject. If the law and custom of the Constitution is to be laid before the reader in an intelligible form, the writer has constantly to keep in mind the fact that, though nearly every law and every custom of the Constitution has a history—sometimes a long and interesting history—yet that it is the Constitution as it now exists, and not the history of Constitutional law with which he has to deal. And, again, although the operation of these laws and customs has to be explained as a matter of present living interest, it must be borne in mind that we are dealing with law and practice, and not with political science or political criticism.

At starting, therefore, I have to distinguish the subject of which I propose to treat from the topics dealt with on the one hand in the classical constitutional histories of Mr. Hallam and Dr. Stubbs, and on the other in the admirable account of the practical working of the English Constitution by

as distinct
from con-
stitutional
history
and politi-
cal science.

Mr. Bagehot. I have to make it clear that I am dealing with rules of law, and with customs which have grown up around these rules, obscuring in some departments the rules themselves. It may be—indeed it is—practically impossible to explain existing Law and Custom without some reference to its history, or to state existing practice without some account of the reasons for the divergence of the legal and the conventional Constitution ; but such matters are illustrative and subordinate. The Laws and Customs, not their history or their political value, are what I am concerned with.

Constitutional Law
in Jurisprudence

To define my subject, it is necessary to determine the place of constitutional law in the *Corpus Juris* of the country, and to distinguish, once for all, those topics with which constitutional law is apt to be confused.

is a branch
of Public
Law;

has to do
with rights
and duties
of sovereign

In order to find the place of constitutional law it is needless to go further than Professor Holland's analysis and classification of rights. A right is 'a capacity residing in one man of controlling with the assent and assistance of the State the actions of another.' Rights which may be enforced by one citizen against another constitute the body of Private Law. Rights which the State asserts to itself against the citizens, and rights which it permits to be exercised against itself, constitute Public Law. But inasmuch as the State is an artificial person, and, as such, assumes to itself the right to maintain order, to enforce the rules of conduct which it lays down, to possess property and compel the performance of contracts made with itself, and inasmuch as it is willing to incur proprietary and contractual liabilities, we need to enquire how this artificial person is constituted, and in this enquiry lies the chief labour of the constitutional lawyer.

and struc-
ture of
State.

The Sovereign body or State is the power by which rights are created and maintained, by which the acts or forbearances necessary to their maintenance are habitually enforced. This power in our community is diffused among a number of persons ; in other words, our State is of complex construction. It consists of a number of persons or groups of persons who,

in virtue of the part which they play in the working of the constitution, possess rights one against the other, and against the citizens in general. Their status is coloured by the fact that they are a portion of the machinery of Government.

The Crown is not Sovereign, nor is either House of Parliament, still less are the ministers or servants through whom the Crown conducts the executive business of Government, but each of these has its established relations to the others, and to the general body of citizens, some fixed by law and some by custom. For the State machinery may be said to consist of all who take part in the making or changing of the laws by which rights are created and protected, in the maintenance of order and settled rules of conduct within the community, in preserving its independence or representing it in its dealings with other communities. The connection and relations of these persons form the constitution of the country.

The analysis of this constitution, which forms the working machinery of the State, the consideration of its various parts, and the relation in which they stand to one another, is what I propose to undertake in respect of our own country.

But when we talk of the State, its rights or its structure, we are necessarily led to the inquiry, What do we mean by the State? The expression is sometimes used as equivalent to an entire community or independent political society; sometimes it is limited to the sovereign body in that society. When we say that a man has deserved well of the State, we generally mean that all persons in the community ought to be grateful to him. When we say that such and such things should be provided or attended to by the State, we mean that the law-making force of the community or its administrative force should compel a course of conduct in certain matters.

It is the more important for the purposes of a constitutional lawyer to ascertain what is meant by the State, because, as I have already said, he is concerned with its structure; and further, his province cannot be precisely defined

without some pains. And we may help ourselves to a clearer conception of the matter by looking at the early history of societies.

when rules
of conduct
are en.
forced by
a central
power.

We need not trouble ourselves with the shifting groups of men who form the lowest types of savage life; it is early enough to begin with aggregates bound together by ties of real or supposed kinship and by common customs. And when these customs begin to be observed in deference to some other authority than the individual violence or general ill-will that arises from their breach, we are able to trace the first germs of the State. Whether it is a council of priests, or of elders, or an individual habitually exalted above the rest by his strength or his cunning, so soon as conduct is enforced by some sanction, the fear of some evil or the hope of some good, however indeterminate or occasional, which is not the arbitrary will of the casual bystander, or the general inclination of the crowd, we see the humble beginnings of the State or Sovereign.

Such power
at first is
slight,

but its
sphere
wide.

As in the
Jewish
polity.

The action of the State is at first inconsecutive and uncertain. It dare not depart from custom. It waits to be appealed to, and does not enforce conduct by fixed rules invariably carried into effect; it cannot always compel obedience to its own decisions. But in proportion as its power is weak its sphere is wide; religious observance and moral action, as well as the maintenance of order and the performance of promises, are its concern. The laws of the people of Israel cover every department of life—diet, cleanliness, domestic relations, religious observance, and many rules of general conduct which are observed in more highly organised communities either as matters of habitual morality, or by a few who aim at a life higher than that of the crowd. But set in the midst of this elaborate code are provisions which show the difficulty of bringing its enforcement under State control. The people are earnestly exhorted not to depend upon themselves for the decision of matters of controversy, each within his gates, but to make use of the courts indicated by the lawgiver, and, having

there obtained judgment, to abide by the decision of the judge¹.

Again, it is impossible in looking at the Laws of the Twelve Tables not to be struck, not merely by the variety of detailed provisions as to the breadth of roads and the conduct of funerals, but by the position and importance assigned to Procedure. The first two tables are occupied with the rules for getting parties before the court and keeping them there till the dispute is settled. The third regulates the mode in which the successful suitor may put into execution the decision of the court. The whole is a good illustration of the extent of State interference, of the misgivings of the State as to its powers of action, and of the desire of the State to obtain for its tribunals the settlement of disputes. The Roman State was at this time a community sufficiently well organised to have a reasonable prospect of enforcing the sentence of its tribunals if it could once obtain submission to them; but our own history furnishes us with an instructive illustration of the difficulties of a society which had no machinery for carrying out the decisions of its courts and could at best provide for the settlement of quarrels by some general rules, the observance of which might confine disturbance within reasonable limits. Mr. Green gives a vivid picture of the course of proceedings by which an offender was put outside the protection of the folk and ceased to be within its peace. But the folk could do no more than withdraw its protection; it had no means of enforcing a punishment; this was left to the individual. All that the community could do was to say that the injured man might apply a violent remedy without incurring its wrath; and it was the want of central force to strike at the offender, the incompatibility of the private feud with public order that reconciled the Saxon people to the substitution of the king's peace for the folk's peace, of the strong arm of the executive for the general disapproval of the community, of State interference for *laissez faire*.

¹ Deuteronomy xvii. 8.

The Anglo-Saxon.
Conquest of England,
p. 22.

So soon as we find a community entrusting to some person or body of persons among its members the task of maintaining and enforcing its customs, we may say that we have found the beginnings of the State; but in all communities which have attained to a high degree of political development, no sooner does this force manifest itself in definite and systematic working than its functions become more various and there takes place among those who have the exercise of it a separation into what in modern States we call the departments of Government. The maintenance of order and custom ceases to be dealt with by those who lead the armed forces of the society; the functions of the warrior are no longer combined with those of the judge; custom needs change as time goes on, or new customs growing up to the detriment of the old need to be checked by some general commands, and a lawgiver is required or a legislative assembly. To fight, to do justice, to assess and collect money, to make laws, is a heavy burden for an individual monarch or even for a body of men who have to act jointly in such matters. These duties come to be discharged by different servants of the same king, or by persons or bodies whom the popular choice elects. The original central force passes into more numerous hands, but its action becomes more constant and vigorous.

This dispersion of the forces which make up the Sovereign is one difficulty in the way of the Austinian analysis of Sovereignty. There is another which Austin made for himself by the arbitrary and unhistorical assumption that the Sovereign was at all times, and for all purposes, omnipotent: that there never was a time when it could not alter at will such rules of conduct as it habitually enforced.

The State
enforces
but does
not change
custom,

For, Legislation, in so far as it means the breaking up of customs and the introduction of new rules of conduct, is a thing almost inconceivable to an early state of society. The maintenance or restoration of the *status quo ante* in personal freedom and property, was the object alike of the Jewish land law and of the Solonian Seisachtheia; the ideal states of the

Greek philosophers were so constructed as to avert, if possible, the chance of development or change. To look nearer home, the earlier volumes of our Statutes are full of minute regulations on matters of local or social custom, but when an important change in the law is contemplated the long and apologetic preambles, such as we read in the Statute of Wills, show how much explanation was needed to make it acceptable to Parliament. To a modern House of Commons it is almost enough till late in history. that a practice has prevailed for a long time to create an impression that such a practice must need examination and revision. But the step is a long one from the time when the State first enforces custom vigorously and constantly, to the time when it takes upon itself without fear or hesitation to recast or alter custom.

And we must further note that in proportion as the State becomes stronger, more complex, more active, so does it define its sphere of action in such a way as to exclude from its operation those rules of conduct which are better left to the guidance of the moralist and the priest. The State, as conceived by the lawgiver of Deuteronomy, swept with its intermittent action the whole area of human conduct; but the modern legislator, who can apply constant uniform pressure to procure the acts and forbearances which he desires to enjoin, strives hard to set limits to state interference, to keep religion and morals wholly outside these limits, to ascertain with precision what it is best to leave to the individual and what must be enforced by the central authority.

But what we are chiefly concerned with is not so much the sphere of state action, or, in other words, the amount and direction of the forces which the State brings to bear upon individual conduct, as the existence, the strength, and the complexity of these forces. For these forces *are* the State; their strength makes it sovereign; their complexity is what the constitutional lawyer has to unravel. The power to strike at offenders within and without gives to States and maintains in them an individual existence: it preserves them from

inward collapse and from absorption into the existence of other States outside them. We do not allow that because the collective force of the community—in other words, the State—narrows its sphere of action, it thereby admits a diminution of its power; nor do we allow that because the machinery for setting it in motion is complicated—in other words, that political power is vested in many hands—its action is therefore less regular and certain in the enforcement of such

Its rules are Law: rules of conduct as are essential to its existence. Any rule of conduct which is backed by such a force is Law. All acts or forbearances to which we are driven or inclined otherwise than by this are assignable to a different sanction or constraining force.

distinct from the physical sanction or force.

A violent wind may blow a man against another in the street, or a stronger than he may take his hand and compel his signature to a document, or a fear of personal injury may prevent him from telling what he knows; and this is the physical sanction.

The moral sanction.

Or a desire to obtain the good opinion of others, many or few, or to conform to a standard of conduct which he conceives to be good for himself or for the world at large, may make a man give up pleasure or endure pain; this is the moral sanction.

The religious sanction

Or a fear of wrath to come, or a desire for the growth within him of a spiritual life, may determine a man's conduct; this is the religious sanction.

is the political sanction or Law proper.

And so a man may be deterred from picking a pocket by fear of God's anger or care for the spiritual life; or by the knowledge that his neighbours will condemn him; or because the man whose pocket he was going to pick turns round and catches his wrist; all these forces or sanctions may affect his conduct. But, at any rate, this sanction must be present to his mind that the State, or the community in its political character, has taken to itself the right to maintain order and to prevent violent and involuntary transfers of property by punishing offenders; and that if he is detected he will be punished by such process and in such ways as the State may provide.

The absolute strength of the State is a necessary conception as the foundation of any jurisprudence which is not a merely speculative and ideal arrangement of rules of conduct, but the complexity of its structure is the matter of difficulty to the student of constitutional law.

The king, who decides quarrels, declares customs, and leads his people in war, ceases after a while to discharge these duties ^{specialising of political functions.} as they become more elaborate and cover a wider surface. The community extends by absorbing others in conquest or by a natural process of growth, and can no longer assemble in its entirety to express its assent or dissent on matters of common interest. The various duties of the king pass into the hands of ministers, sometimes with the result, noticeable in our constitution, that he comes to be regarded as incapable of discharging these duties for himself. Thus we find in our own country that though every act in the State is in theory the act of the Queen or of the Queen in Council, the executive power of the Crown, except as exercised through its ministers, has shrunk to an almost nominal power of appointing and dismissing them.

And as the Crown has lost the power of independent action in matters administrative, so it has lost independence and initiative in legislation. First, the community demands to be represented when money is granted, to assent to the amount and incidence of the tax; then the representatives claim to state grievances, departures from custom or need of change before they grant the tax; then, instead of leaving it to the king and his council to make and promulgate the required law, the representatives undertake to frame and settle the law. The king's legislative power sinks to a formal right to assent or dissent from a law submitted to him, and this again to a merely formal expression of assent. Though statutes are nominally enacted 'by the Queen's most excellent Majesty,' and the Lords and Commons do but advise and consent and give their authority thereto, the legislative power of the Crown has shrunk to a shadowy veto.

Matters to be distinguished from Constitutional Law : From what has been said it will appear that the complexity of a modern State, and in particular the complexity of modern English institutions, gives enough work to the constitutional lawyer if he is to disentangle and set out in their various relations the institutions of his country. It is the more important to keep his province clear of other fields of study which have been touched upon in what has just been said. The history of the conception of the State, its sphere of duty, the best possible disposition of forces in it, the mode in which they are or have been disposed at different times,—all these topics are more or less susceptible of confusion with the topic of constitutional law.

Let us try to sever them.

Legal Antiquities ; (a) There is the growth and development of the State in its rudimentary forms, the mode in which Law parts company with morals and religion, and becomes specialised as a code of conduct enforceable by a central power within the community —this is the department of historical jurisprudence, and is matter for the student of legal antiquities.

Political Economy and the limits of State interference ; (b) The determination of the rules which should be enforced by the State, as opposed to such as should be left to the moralist and the priest or preacher, is matter for the political economist and the student of political science : it is for them to discuss and settle the limits of State interference.

Jurisprudence ; (γ) But when once it is determined what rules of conduct the State shall enforce, the business of the jurist and of the legislator begins. For when the State enforces acts and forbearances, it at once creates rights ; the analysis and arrangement of these rights is the business of the jurist.

the theory of Legislation ; Moreover, it is one thing to say that certain acts and forbearances shall be made obligatory, and another thing to determine the mode in which they shall be so made, in what form, and with what sanctions for disobedience. The theory of punishment (using the term punishment as including all forms of penalty or remedy for rights infringed), and the business of making laws, make up the province of the legislator.

(d) There yet remains for consideration the actual structure of the State. We may ask, after determining the due limits of State interference and the objects of State control, how the forces of the community may best be disposed with ^{Political Science;} a view to the attainment of these objects ; and this is a part of the business of the student of political science¹.

Or, we may ask how the forces of the community have been ^{Constitu-} disposed in the past, noting the displacement and change of ^{tional His-} tory ; balance from time to time ; and this is the business of the constitutional historian.

Or, lastly, we may consider how the forces of the community ^{Constitu-} are disposed here and now ; what are the legal rights and ^{tional Law.} duties of the various parts of the sovereign body against one another and against the community at large ; and how the whole works together. If in our own constitution we find that law and custom diverge, we must note first what is the law, and then how it has been overgrown by custom ; and in so doing we shall do the duty of the constitutional lawyer, and stray as little as need be into the domain of other studies.

¹ I may seem to have suggested under three different headings three matters, all of which might be included within the term 'political science.' It is not my business to find a terminology for the political philosopher, but his studies would seem to include three distinct things : the ascertainment of the limits of State Interference, so that he may know what the State should undertake; the theory of Legislation, so that he may know how the State should set about what it undertakes ; and the Analysis and Comparison of Constitutions, so that he may know how the State may be best constructed and political forces best disposed with a view to the work of the State being done.

CHAPTER II.

Historical Outline.

Object of
an his-
torical
outline.

THE great difficulty which presses on the student of the English constitution, regarded as a set of legal rules, is that he can never dissociate himself from history. There is hardly a rule which has not a long past, or which can be understood without some consideration of the circumstances under which it first came into being. And yet, if we are ever to understand the constitution as it is, we must needs limit its historical aspect to the narrowest dimensions. In order that we may be able to do this, I propose at the outset to note the various phases through which our constitution has passed, so that it may be possible to fit the rules into their historical origin as each comes to be dealt with. A historical outline will clear the ground and enable me to confine the rest of the book, as far as possible, to the law and custom of the constitution as it now is.

The Saxon Constitution.

Character
of Saxon
polity :

The Anglo-Saxon or early English constitution was of the ordinary type of what Mr. Bagehot calls 'that common polity or germ of polity which we find in all the rude nations which have attained civilisation—a consultative and tentative absolutism.' There was a king the chosen representative of the race, their leader in war and their judge in the last resort, an assembly of the wise, and the concourse of the people. But whatever may have been the rights of the popular assembly or its position in the smaller kingdoms of the early Saxon times, it seems

clear that when England became a united kingdom its government was conducted by king and witan. If the king had a strong will, and a good capacity for business, he ruled the witan, if not, the witan was the prevailing power in the state. But the Anglo-Saxon kingdom had an element of instability. its weakness. Perhaps from the mode in which the country was gradually acquired by the various conquering tribes, and from the gradual amalgamation of diverse kingdoms into one, the England of Saxon times was wanting in a sense of national unity. 'The cohesion of the nation,' says Dr. Stubbs, 'was greatest Const. Hist. i. in the lowest ranges. Family, township, hundred, county held 211. together when ealdorman was struggling with ealdorman, and the king was left in isolated dignity.'

The Norman Administration.

The local organisation was strong, and formed the substantial contribution of the Anglo-Saxon polity to our constitutional growth. When the Norman kings came over, bringing with them the formulated feudalism of the continent, the strength of local custom was a powerful assistance to them in so organising the country as to raise up a central and solid government, as against the efforts of the barons to break up the kingdom into a number of small principalities. They bound the people to themselves by reserving to the king the allegiance of every landowner and excepting it from the fealty which he swore to his lord: they used the local customs and institutions as a machinery for the administration of justice and the assessment and collection of revenue, and they worked this machinery from a strong central government over which they watched with personal and incessant care.

The Norman central and administrative system was brought into contact with Saxon local and representative institutions by the sessions of the royal justices in the shire moot. At these sessions offenders were presented to the king's justices by the twelve lawful men of the hundred, and the aid or tallage imposed by the king in council was assessed and collected.

Stubbe, i.
505.

Growth of
representation in
connection
with taxation.

So long as taxation fell upon land only, the liability of the tax-payer was settled by the sheriff, the justice, or the declaration

of the tenant in chief: but personal property, when under Henry II it came to be taxed, required a closer system of assessment.

Thus, for the collection of the Saladin Tithe representative men of each township were chosen to determine the liabilities of the tax-payers, and here we get the beginning of the connection between taxation and representation. Shortly, one may state the whole history of the process which now begins. First, the representatives calculate the amount due from each individual of a tax fixed by the crown; next, they determine the total amount which shall be granted to the crown; finally, they determine not merely the amount which the crown is to receive, but the way in which the crown shall spend it.

But this is at present far off. The kings of the twelfth century judged and taxed, and commanded their feudal levies in war, and issued edicts declaratory of custom or relating to changes of administration. But the system of administration was largely based on local representation for purposes of taxation and judicial procedure, and so we get a connection of the local and central power, which paved the way for Parliamentary institutions and for the share in the government of the country which was given to all classes by the constitution of Edward I.

The
Charter.

The Great Charter is partly a declaration of rights, partly a treaty between crown and people: it contains a statement of the legal limits of the power of the crown in two matters of paramount importance. It put on record first the right at any rate of all tenants in chief, personally or by their representatives, to be parties to the grant of any scutage or aid other than the three customary aids; and next the right of every free man to the free course of justice, 'the legal judgment of his peers or the law of the land.' That representation is a condition precedent to taxation, and that the law is the same for all, may be regarded as the cardinal principles of the charter.

The Constitution of Edward I.

Edward I gave to our constitution the form which, with many changes in spirit and many more in detail, it has retained to the present day. The executive is the Crown in Council, the king acting with the advice of the wise men and magnates of the realm. The representative body, which at first only assents to taxation and afterwards makes laws, consists of the clergy, the baronage, and the commons, the three estates of the realm. The baronage come in response to a summons addressed by writ to each individually; the clergy are included in a like writ addressed to each bishop; the commons are summoned by a writ addressed to the sheriff of each county, commanding the election of two knights for each shire, two citizens for each city, two burgesses for each borough. The machinery of the county court, which had already been used for the choice of persons who should assess the taxation levied by the Crown, is now used for the choice of persons to represent the shire, and for the confirmation of the choice of their representatives by the towns. And these representatives, the choice of whom is notified from the sheriff in the County Court to the Crown, meet in Parliament 'to enact such things as shall of our common council be ordained.' The Crown in Parliament begins to be distinguishable from the Crown in Council, but it took a long time to establish a clear demarcation of the functions of legislature and executive, a still longer time to enable the two, when once their functions were distinguished, to work harmoniously together.

Parlia-
ment: its
constitu-
tion.

Stubbs,
Charters,
486.

The Commons as a Political Power.

There was at first no clear recognition of the right of the Voice of commons to a voice in legislation, for the king in council had been wont to declare customs and make administrative changes, and sometimes continued to do so with the concurrence of the Magnates only, and without waiting for the assent of the Commons. Such was the case with the Statute *Quia Emptores*, passed *instantia magnatum*. If they wanted new

the Com-
mons in
legislation,

laws the Commons did not frame them, but asked for them ; the Crown in Council legislated on petition of the Commons.
in administration. Nor were the Commons always willing to recognize their position as critics if not advisers of the Crown and its Ministers. When their opinion was asked on matters of executive government they were reluctant to give it, lest their advice should lead to expense for which they might be held responsible.

But the strength of the Commons lay in this, that when once the Crown had acknowledged its inability to lay taxes on the people without their consent, that consent could only be obtained through their representatives in Parliament ; and further, in days when there was no press, nor means of getting at public opinion by organised demonstrations, it was only through the assemblage of the Commons that the king could ascertain the feeling of the country. And though the Commons might be reluctant to express opinions which would compromise them in the matter of taxation, yet a capable king would learn without much difficulty whether the country was with him or not, and a wise king would not act in grave matters unless he knew that the country was at his back.

So the Commons became necessary to the Crown : they were also necessary to the Baronage, for the Barons were frequently in an attitude of resistance to the Crown ; it was upon them that feudal liabilities lay heaviest, and it was important to them to have the Commons on their side. In the great Constitutional struggles of the middle ages, which ended in the acknowledgment by the Crown of the right of Parliament to grant supply, we find the Barons leading and the Commons following their lead.

But though money could only be got through the Commons, and information of the state of public feeling could hardly be got elsewhere, yet it was not for a long time that they could exercise any substantial influence on the action of the executive, it was even sometime before they acquired a hold upon legislation.

The Commons and the Executive.

For in their relations to the executive the criticism of the Commons was occasional, their control remote. They could denounce, but they could not denounce in time or complain before the mischief was done. If grants of money had been required at more regular intervals, or could have been appropriated more specifically to the purpose for which they had been asked, the Commons might at any time have stayed the hand of the executive by tightening the purse strings. But the Crown had an hereditary revenue from various sources which satisfied many of the needs of government. If the king wanted more, he asked for and obtained a grant of a tenth or a fifteenth on real or personal property. No means existed of assigning portions of the grant to particular services, or indeed of providing that the king should not spend the entire subsidy on purposes quite different from those for which it was asked. So when their grant was made the virtue had gone out of the Commons, they could exercise no control over policy till money was wanted again. Their efforts to keep a hold on the king's ministers show that they knew their weakness in this respect. The oath of office and the practice of impeachment were attempts to impose upon the servants of the Crown a sense of duty by fear of more or less remote contingencies. The demand sometimes made that the officers of state should not be chosen by the Crown but should be elected by the Commons is a curious anticipation of modern practice. Only the Commons desired in the middle ages to do directly and formally what in the modern constitution they do indirectly. The mediaeval Parliament wanted to be able to elect for the Crown the minister of its choice. The modern Parliament is content with the power of making it impossible for the Crown to employ others than those whom Parliament favours for the time.

The Commons and Legislation.

The control which the Commons exercised over legislation was acquired two hundred years sooner than its control over the executive. But it was not acquired without a struggle.

By the end of the thirteenth century they had secured that no tax should be imposed which they had not granted: before the middle of the fourteenth it was enacted that no law should be made to which they had not agreed: when asked for money they could claim that grievances should precede supply: for such grievances as needed legislative redress they had to be content with the king's promise of such redress. When parliament had dispersed, the statute required was drafted and engrossed in the statute roll, or an ordinance issued to the same effect. But the Commons had no opportunity of seeing whether their wishes were really carried out, or if carried out were not rendered liable to be defeated by saving clauses and the reservation of a dispensing power to the Crown.

The process of legislation, as might be expected, took much less time to acquire its modern aspect than did the connection of the executive and the legislature. It was not till after the Revolution that party government began to grow up, and the relation of ministers to Parliament assumed something of its present form. But by the end of the fifteenth century Statutes had assumed the form which they still retain, and as early as the reign of Henry the Sixth the framing of laws was undertaken and conducted by the Houses, and the king had ceased to do more than express a formal acceptance or rejection of the measure submitted to him.

The mediaeval Parliament had thus acquired a close and effective control over legislation, while its control over the action of the Crown, or of the Ministers of the Crown, remained uncertain and at best intermittent. But it must not therefore be supposed that the king was free to do as he would in matters of administration and of external policy, subject only to the liability of a reference to Parliament when money was needed.

The Feudal King.

Feudal royalty itself did not possess the sacredness which came to be attached to the kingly office in the seventeenth century. The liabilities of allegiance might be renounced as they were in the case of Edward II, or the right to allegiance resigned as it was by Richard II. Feudalism was based upon contract, and a hopeless failure in performance of his part by the king was held to discharge his subjects from their liabilities.

But there was a closer and more effective check upon the action of the king than this last appeal to the contractual or quasi-contractual relation of sovereign and subject. The executive was not the king but the king in council, and the council were the great officers of state. Although it might be difficult for Parliament to keep an adequate control over the king's choice of ministers, or over the action of the ministers whom he chose, such ministers were themselves powerful representatives of two estates of the realm, the baronage and the clergy. The nobles and bishops who, for the most part, composed the Council could influence the royal policy in other ways than by their knowledge of the business of state. The nobles by their great estates and local influence could treat with the king on an independent footing ; the bishops could speak for the clergy, who were taxed separately from the laity, and often on a larger scale. The Council therefore was a strong check on the power of the Crown, unless the king was a man of exceptional vigour and capacity, who could seize a policy in which he would have the nation at his back and carry it out with a skill and firmness which would secure the obedience of the Council. Nor did the Council show any disinclination to control the action of the Crown in all important matters. The history of the royal seals, the Great Seal, the Privy Seal and the Privy Signet, shows how the instruments of the king's authentic acts were one by one entrusted to a responsible officer of state and placed outside the royal control.

In fact although the king was an essential part of the mechanism of state, though he enacted laws in Parliament, issued writs, granted patents, commanded armies, the part he played might be real or formal as the king might be strong or weak, the council vigorous or disunited, the parliament interested or apathetic. And the possible checks upon his power throughout the middle ages were such as to reduce it at times to little but a form.

The Reformation and the Tudor Monarchy.

Sources of Tudor power. Under the Tudor Monarchy all this was changed. The Wars of the Roses left the baronage reduced alike in numbers and in power, the commons exhausted and anxious only for a rule strong enough to give them peace, the crown rich with the forfeited lands of those barons who had taken the wrong side in the dynastic quarrels of York and Lancaster. The church was the only great power in the state which could cope with the crown; and the reform of the church, whether it was to take place from without or from within, was now imminent.

Political effect of the Reformation. The Reformation in England was the result of many conflicting currents of interest. Among these may be numbered the attitude of the clergy themselves, who had been heavily taxed by Rome and were not unwilling to become a national church with the king at their head. Once severed from Rome the hand of reform fell hard upon them. By the dissolution of the monasteries the church lost much besides wealth; it lost social influence, for the monasteries were the great educational centres and the great dispensers of charitable relief; it lost political influence when the mitred abbots no longer formed, as they had previously formed, a large number of the House of Lords.

Thus all things combined to enhance the power of the crown. The destruction of the baronage not only freed the king from a serious check upon his independent action, but enabled him to fill the great offices of state with new men.

The council now consisted of but few great nobles in proportion to the officials on their promotion ; it was no longer united but split into departments ; from being a check upon royal power, it became a formidable instrument in the hands of the crown. The breach with Rome placed the king at the head of the national church, and the spoils of the monasteries gave him an immense accession of wealth.

The two great Tudor monarchs, Henry VIII and Elizabeth, showed their statesmanship in nothing more conspicuously than in their acceptance of all the forms of the constitution. When Henry VIII obtained for his Proclama- Mainte-
nance of
constitutional
forms by
the Tudors.tions the force of law, and was permitted to devise the crown by will, these extraordinary powers were in each case conferred by Parliament and in statutory form. When Elizabeth desired to control the growing interest of the House of Commons in public affairs she packed the House with subservient members, representing small boroughs upon which she had conferred the franchise in order that they might return persons who would be under the influence of the court or its ministers. The Tudors were content with the substance of power, and left to Parliament everything but the reality of control over legislation and policy.

The issues between the Stuarts and Parliament.

But this expedient for harmonising the wishes of the House of Commons with the action of the executive is of itself an indication that a new struggle was beginning on the old ground. The Commons had begun to demand a voice in the general policy of the country, and to criticise the action of the executive in modern fashion. And James and Charles chafed at constitutional forms, and were incapable of a generous acceptance of a policy they disliked.

The practical issue between the Crown and the Commons came to this, that the Crown claimed to tax without consent Disregard
of them
by the
Stuarts.
and the
Star
Chamber. of Parliament, and to administer justice without the forms of law. Both parties appealed to the letter of old statutes, and

neither seemed to see that with the change of times, and after the long lapse of political interest under the Tudors, the mediaeval constitution needed to be re-stated, or even recast, if the Commons were to resume their old place in political life.

1628. The Petition of Right was the first attempt to restate the rules of constitutional liberty laid down in the Great Charter, but in defiance of its provisions Charles tried to dispense with Parliament in matters of taxation, and with the Courts of Law in matters of criminal justice. The Star Chamber, the judicial aspect of the Privy Council, had once been a useful means of bringing great offenders within the reach of the law by the strong arm of the executive. It now became an instrument of political and ecclesiastical tyranny, enabling the king to dispense with the forms of law where they were inconvenient, and to get the course of criminal justice into his hands.

Want of money brought the king back to Parliament at last, and the first acts of the Long Parliament were to sweep away the criminal jurisdiction of the Privy Council, and to close every avenue against the raising of money by the Crown without the consent of the Commons. But the executive and the representative parts of the constitution had by this time drifted too far apart, and the monarchical policy of the first Stuarts ended in the catastrophe of the Civil War and the premature reforms of the Commonwealth.

Relations of Crown and Parliament, 1660–1688.

The Restoration did not give back what the Long Parliament had taken away—the criminal jurisdiction of the Privy Council; nor did it revive what the Long Parliament had set at rest, the right of the Crown to raise money, whether by direct or by indirect taxation, without Parliamentary grant. The executive was weakened for the purposes of conflict with the legislature, but nothing was done to bring the ministers of the Crown into closer relation with the power

which was fast becoming paramount in the constitution, the House of Commons.

In the reigns of the last two Stuarts one may summarise the relations of Parliament and the Crown somewhat as follows.

The king could set up no claim to raise money without ^{Revenues of the Crown in 1660.} consent of Parliament: he possessed a revenue roughly calculated at £1,250,000 a year arising from the crown-lands and the proceeds of certain duties; he employed such ministers as he pleased, subject to the risk of their being impeached by the House of Commons if they and the House came to hopeless variance; and he conducted the business of government in concert with a small body of the Privy Council, consisting of such persons as he might think likely to promote the despatch or enliven the progress of business. Any increase in the productive power of the sources of the revenue went to the benefit of the Crown, which might to that extent become independent of Parliament. Any increase in the ^{Appropriation of supplies.} liabilities of government beyond the ordinary revenue had to be met by a subsidy, or extraordinary grant, from the Commons, and such grants were for the first time in the reign of Charles II *appropriated* to the specific purposes for which they were made; that is to say, their use was limited to such purposes, and the money granted was not issued except under precautions that it should be so used. The Commons drew closer their control upon the action of the executive, but the periodical catastrophes of Charles the Second's reign—the exile of Clarendon, the impeachment of Danby—show how easy it was for a minister and a House of Commons to drift so far apart that no means were left for settling their disputes except recourse to violent measures.

The abortive Privy Council scheme of Sir William Temple in 1679 showed some consciousness of the risk arising from the slight correspondence between Ministers and the Commons. The attempt to create an executive which should represent all classes and opinions could hardly have been ^{Attempt to harmonise executive and legislature.}

expected to succeed, but it was something that the constitutional problem should have been recognized though the solution was inadequate.

The dispensing power.

Taxation in Parliament and the free administration of justice had been secured by the Long Parliament; the last of the Stuarts revived an earlier claim of the Crown to independent legislation. The final struggle arose on the attempt of James II to annul, of his own authority, statutes which had been thought essential to the security of the Protestant religion. The issue between the first Stuart and his subjects turned on the right of the king to tax without Parliament and judge without the Law Courts. The issue between the last Stuart and his subjects turned on the king's right to suspend the law at his pleasure and by his individual act. The offer of the crown to William and Mary, their acceptance of it, and the codification in the Bill of Rights of the limitations on the royal prerogative, mark the beginning of the modern Constitution.

The Modern Constitution.

1688.
The Bill
of Rights,
how far a
code.

But the Bill of Rights is more than a summary of constitutional rules; it practically settles a number of disputed questions of principle. In opposition to the doctrine that the crown was a piece of real property which could never be without an owner, it declares the throne vacant. In opposition to the doctrine that the succession to the throne was a matter of divine indefeasible hereditary right, it regulates that succession. In opposition to the doctrine of passive obedience, it affixes conditions to the tenure of the crown.

The Bill of Rights is perhaps the nearest approach to a constitutional code which we possess, but it does not profess to be a written constitution. It merely states the points which had been from time to time in issue between the Crown and its subjects since the reign of Edward I, and on all points it declares in favour of the nation and against the Crown.

This summary of constitutional rules, setting at rest matters

which had long been a source of difference, represents the legal result of the Revolution. The process by which the crown was offered to William and Mary by the representatives of the estates of the realm is evidence of an altered conception of royalty which has practically determined the development of constitutional usage since 1688. It is worth considering how this conception of royalty has gradually been arrived at.

Feudalism, which linked political power with the holding of land, had found the king a tribal chief, had made him the ultimate landlord of every man, and had turned sovereignty into a piece of real property, the rights to which were regulated by the feudal land-law. The practice of Commendation, where fealty was to be rendered on one side and protection on the other, gave to feudalism that element of personal loyalty which made treason the unpardonable sin of the middle ages. At the head of the feudal hierarchy, the lord of kings was the Emperor, but his shadowy lordship lost all practical meaning when the kingdoms of Europe grew definite and united in themselves; and the Reformation, which broke up the unity of Christendom, destroyed for ever the feudal conception of society, secular and spiritual, tending upwards to the Emperor and the Pope. And as the dependence of the king upon an earthly power was thus exploded, kingship obtained a higher place than it had occupied as a link in the feudal chain. For the connection of sovereignty with property was still assumed, and the personal allegiance of feudalism remained, and when men sought for some theory of political duty they found it in the conception of Divine Right. The king held the kingdom as property, his subjects owed him their fealty, and his tenure was of God.

And this theory of Divine Right grew into definite shape in opposition to a new conception of kingship. When, after the Reformation and with the rise of Puritanism, men began to regard the king rather as the official exponent of the wishes and aims of his people, the opponents of this view sought in

the Divine right of kings a basis of sovereignty and a theory of political duty which seemed to them surer than the convenience of a nation, or the need of having some outward embodiment of the State.

The act of the Convention Parliament which gave the crown to William and Mary was the recognition of the official and representative duties of the Crown in England. Whether, with the utilitarians, we say that government exists for the common good, or with Locke, that it exists for the purpose of securing to us natural rights, or with Hobbes, that it exists for the restraint of lawlessness and the protection of us from our own inclinations to rapine and revenge, we come to the same conclusion—that the State exists for our advantage, that the king is a part of the State, that he, like the rest of the State machinery, is not there of right except in so far as he fulfils his functions.

Result of
new idea
of royalty.

This practical view of the relations of the Crown and people had immediate effects.

The Mu-
tiny Act.

The king had been the leader of the armed force of the nation as a militia. The Bill of Rights declared the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace without consent of Parliament to be contrary to law. Apart from this general proposition the maintenance of discipline necessitates the power of inflicting punishments in a more summary manner than would be possible in the ordinary course of law. The Commons were determined that such a power should not pass out of their control, and the Mutiny Act, by which the existence of a standing army is legalised and its discipline provided for, is never passed for more than a year at a time.

The appro-
priation of
supplies.

Again, the Crown had conducted the business of government on the resources supplied by the proceeds of crown lands and of taxes settled on the king for life. If the revenue was in excess of the needs of government the king could do as he liked with the balance, if it was deficient the king asked the Commons to make good the deficiency. But it was left to the king to conduct the entire financial business of state

from year to year. After the Revolution this was changed. The king was not entrusted with the payment of all the charges of government; he was placed upon an allowance called the Civil List, calculated to meet the cost of the royal household and of the civil departments. The House of Commons took over the naval and military expenditure, and annually voted and paid the sums required. They thereby acquired a power of constantly reviewing the conduct of the Executive alien to the idea of the relations of Crown and Parliament entertained by the Stuarts and their supporters.

But most important of all was the new relation in which the ministers of the Crown stood towards Parliament. With the increased control which the House of Commons acquired over the business of government, came the necessity that the king's ministers should be able to work in harmony with a majority of the House. The king might choose his servants, but the House of Commons might make it difficult, if not impossible, for them to carry on the business of government.

Cabinet and Party Government.

And this newly acquired power of the House of Commons did more than limit the king's choice of ministers; it at once brought to a close the practice of working the executive by the Crown in Council. The Privy Council was too large a body, and of too various political opinions, to act together or to guide its action by the wishes of a Parliamentary majority.

Already a committee within the Council had come to transact the business of the country, and this had arisen from the dislike of Charles II to the formalities of a full meeting of the Council, and of William III to the communication of his policy to more than a few trusted statesmen.

It remained that this committee of the Council, made up of the chiefs of the various departments of government, should consist of persons of the same way of thinking in politics, and that way in accordance with the opinion, for the time, of the majority in the House of Commons. The necessity for this

1. A committee of heads of departments.

2. United in holding the political opinions of the majority in the Commons.

became clear so soon as the increase in the power of the Commons became realised.

Sunderland taught it to William III, and as early as the beginning of the last century cabinet and party government existed in a rudimentary form. That is to say, the policy of the country was not determined by the Crown with the whole of the Privy Council, but with a limited number consisting for the most part of the heads of departments ; and this limited number were men of identical opinions on the chief matters of political interest, and their opinions were the same as those of the majority of the House of Commons.

3. Not
severed
from
House of
Commons.

12 & 13
Will. III.
c. 2. s. 3.

Thus the House of Commons obtained the control which mediaeval Parliaments had sought in vain over the selection of the executive, and the policy of the country. It could, by a process of indirect election, determine whom the Crown should employ for the conduct of affairs of state. It nearly sacrificed this power to a fear lest the presence in its body of ministers and placemen should affect its independence. A clause in the Act of Settlement excluded from the House of Commons all who held offices or places of profit under the Crown. Happily this clause was repealed before it came into operation ; and the parties in the House of Commons have gradually acquired the power of indicating, by a process which is somewhat indefinable in its action, though perfectly clear in its results, the ministers to whom they are respectively willing that the conduct of affairs should be entrusted.

Disuse
of royal
presence.

There were two principles which needed to be established before Cabinet government, as we understand it, came into effect. The first was that the Cabinet should be wholly severed from the Council, except in so far as the members of the Cabinet are also members of the Council. Throughout the reign of Anne the policy of the country was settled at small meetings of the Council, attended by the chief ministers of departments and presided over by the Queen. The disuse of the royal presence at these meetings dates from the accession of George I, who probably found it disagreeable to attend discussions which he

could not understand. But the absence of the King led to a complete alteration in the character of the meeting. It ceased to be, in any formal sense, a meeting of the Council ; it became a meeting of leaders of the party in power. It ceased to have any known legal position, and became what it is now, a meeting of gentlemen of common political interests, who, because they are eminent members of one or other House of Parliament or heads of important departments, find it convenient to discuss together the affairs of state. It is no longer the Queen, but the Prime Minister, a personage as unknown to the law as is the Cabinet, who convenes and presides over this assemblage of ministers.

The second, and this was of slow growth, was the Joint modern theory of the joint responsibility of ministers. If ^{responsibility of} ministers. a body of ministers stand or fall together, the influence of the Crown upon the working of government is obviously much diminished, and that of the Commons is increased. If the Crown should disapprove of the conduct of a particular department it cannot now, as it frequently could and did during the last century, dismiss the individual minister of whose conduct it disapproves without at once losing the services of all the rest. It has to deal with a body of men who stand or fall together, because they represent common interests and the opinions of a party. They have become ministers because a majority of the House of Commons was willing to support their policy, and was not willing to support any other ; they are collectively the nominees of that majority, and though they have been summoned to hold office by the Crown, it is to the majority of the House of Commons, and not to the will of the Crown, that they look as the real source of their power. The dismissal of one is an attack upon the policy which all represent.

The United Kingdom and its Dependencies.

The constitution of Parliament, and of the various departments of government, the relations of the Crown to its ^{of Union.} The Acts

ministers, and of the Crown and its ministers to Parliament, do not exhaust the topics of constitutional law in history or in fact. So far I have traced the development of the Constitution in England alone. It has to be borne in mind that the Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland were treaties by which two independent Parliaments were absorbed into a third upon certain terms as to representation in the two Houses; treaties by which two States, one enjoying complete independence, the other a legislative independence of England, were formed into a United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Constitution of the colonies and their connection with the United Kingdom.

And this United Kingdom, the terms of whose union have to be studied by the constitutional lawyer, has accumulated around itself a number of dependencies, some the result of conquest, some of colonisation, very variously constituted in themselves and standing in various relations to the central government. Our work is not done until we have made out the nature of the bonds which connect England with Scotland and Ireland, and the United Kingdom with the various parts of the Empire which lie scattered over the habitable surface of the earth.

CHAPTER III.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

THE brief survey which I have made of the leading features of our constitution may serve at least to bring out one remarkable characteristic of the topics with which we have to deal. A constitution which began with the rude organisation of a group of settlers in a hostile country has been adapted not only to the wants of a highly civilised race, but to the government of a vast empire, and has been so adapted by an insensible process of change, without any attempt to recast it as a whole, or to map it out in a written form.

Our constitution a gradual adaptation of rules to convenience.

It follows that there are many things in our constitution for which it is hard to account. We find one practice prevailing at one time, and quite a different practice, in the same matter, at another; and it is sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to indicate the moment at which the change occurred. For changes have most often been unconscious adaptations of practice to convenience; where changes have been deliberate they have never been comprehensive; they have never dealt with more than the matter which needed change.

It follows then that our constitution is a somewhat rambling structure, and that, like a house which many successive owners have altered just so far as suited their wants at the time of their possession, it bears the marks of many hands, and is convenient rather than symmetrical.

Hence theory and practice diverge One result of these piecemeal changes in our constitution is the divergence, in many important matters, of law and custom, of theory and practice. We are constantly embarrassed by finding power vested by law in hands which never exercise it in fact, and power exercised in fact by persons unknown to the law. A student who rose from the perusal of the latest edition of Stephen's 'Commentaries' to study the working of our institutions at the present day, would wonder what had become of the prerogative of the Crown, and who were meant by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet.

It is necessary, therefore, before dealing with the law and custom of the Constitution, to note some of these divergences of theory and practice, that we may be prepared for them when we are confronted with them in the detailed part of our inquiries.

First compare the process of legislation in theory, that is, according to the strict rules of law, and in practice.

in the legislature : Legislation is effected by the Crown in Parliament; it is the Queen who makes laws with the assent of Lords and Commons, and by the authority of the same. But in fact the Commons have an exclusive initiative and control over one branch of legislation, the laws by which taxes are imposed; they have a preponderating influence over all other legislation; and the enacting power of the Crown has, since the reign of Henry VI, been reduced to a right to assent or dissent to measures submitted by Lords and Commons, and the veto to which it has been reduced by custom has not been exercised for more than 170 years.

in the executive. Or, take again the Executive. The Crown in Council is the executive; the Crown appoints the various ministers who conduct the business of government; but, legally, they are only heads of departments acting under the orders of the Crown, which makes peace and war, issues charters, increases the peerage, is the fountain of honour, of office and of justice. The ministers hold their offices during pleasure; they may be dismissed, one or all, at any moment; they are not in any

way legally obliged to be in Parliament; their relations to Parliament are a matter with which the law is wholly un-concerned, except that the acceptance of office necessitates as a rule the re-election of the member taking office, and that the emoluments of ministers depend upon a Parliamentary grant.

It seldom, if ever, occurs to any one but a student of constitutional law that the business of the various departments of government might be transacted by men who were not in Parliament, and that there is no legal necessity that the heads of departments should be responsible for the general policy of the country, still less that they should initiate and control it.

This severance, which is possible in law, between the controlling executive, the departmental executive and Parliament is now impossible in fact.

Practical convenience, amounting to necessity, assigns to party leaders the headship of departments, and therewith a joint and general control of the policy of the country. Parliamentary criticism and the many ways in which an adverse majority in the House of Commons may thwart and embarrass the departments of government make it necessary that those who are responsible for such departments should not only act together, but should act in harmony with the majority in the House. And so it comes about that if our constitution were stripped bare of convention and displayed in its legal nakedness, it would be found not only unrecognizable, but unworkable.

There is another point in which our constitution differs from many. It is not written, and it never has been written out for the information of those who live under it, for the guidance of those who have to work it. Doubtless a written constitution may suffer imperceptible changes as well as one which is not written. Use alters the shape of things so pliable as political institutions: an inconvenient rule is not observed; a convenient practice creeps in. M. Boutmy, in his admirable 'Études de Droit Constitutionnel,' has shown how the written

American Constitution has undergone this insensible modification in some of its most important parts. He points out how not only has the whole machinery of the Presidential election, in practice, worked away from the constitutional theory; but how the Senate beginning as a council of delegates, whose duties were mainly executive, and who were bound by the instructions, when given, of those whom they represented, has come to be a Second Chamber, the members of which exercise their discretion freely as critics and moderators of the action of the House of Representatives.

and so
more easily
changed by
custom

and by
legislation.

47 & 48
Vict. c. 30.
48 Vict.
c. 3.

Omnipo-
tence of
Parlia-
ment.

If a written constitution can thus by mere force of usage depart from its original lines, it is obvious that a constitution which is nowhere set forth in a written form must inevitably be more liable to change. For, in the first place, custom cannot so easily encrust a constitution which is ever present in black and white to those who live under it. And, in the second place, such constitutions are rarely changeable by the ordinary process of legislation. The constitution is sovereign, not, as with us, the Parliament. Law-making is only possible within the limits of the constitution, and this can only be altered by some assemblage other than the legislature. With us Parliament is omnipotent, and statute law is constantly acting upon one or another of our institutions, here removing a form once thought essential, such as the use of the Privy Seal, there extending the franchise to classes hitherto excluded from the full rights of citizenship.

The fact that Parliament can change the constitution in the ordinary course of legislation does not necessarily operate to produce a divergence of law and custom, but it tends to do so. For the constitution of a State is something like a human organism. It is difficult to change or destroy one part without producing effects not easily estimated or foretold upon the whole structure. When Parliament repealed the clause in the Act of Settlement which excluded placemen from the House of Commons, it was probably thought to do no more than run a certain risk of the corruption of its

members and of their subservience to the Crown. It was in reality making possible our whole modern system of government.

I have tried to show first that law and custom are often at variance in our constitution, and I have done this because the variance creates a difficulty in setting out the rules of our constitution in a clear form. I have also tried to show why it is that law and custom are at variance, and that one reason is the unwritten and indeterminate character of our constitution, and that another is its susceptibility to change, owing to the absolute power which Parliament possesses over every institution in the country.

But I would be careful to limit this part of my subject to a statement of difficulties and an indication of their source.

The fact that our constitution has to be collected from statutes, from legal decisions, from observation of the course of conduct of the business of politics ; that much of what is written is of a negative sort, stating what the Crown and its ministers can *not* do ; that there is no part of it which an omnipotent Parliament may not change at will ; all this is a puzzle not only to foreign jurists who are prepared to say, with De Tocqueville, that the English constitution does not exist, but to ourselves who are prepared to maintain that it is a monument, if only we can find it, of political sagacity. Those who praise it call it flexible ; those who criticise it, unstable. We are not concerned with praise or blame, but only with the difficulty of putting such a medley of political rights and duties into an intelligible form.

There is another matter of difficulty in understanding the English constitution arising from its gradual development and piecemeal construction. It is impossible to state in a form satisfactory to the analytical jurist, it is difficult to state in a clear and coherent form to the practical inquirer, the relations between the executive and the legislature. The relations of the executive and legislature.

Austin's
view

'It is absurd,' says Austin¹, 'to say that the Parliament has legislative sovereign powers, but that the executive sovereign powers belong to the King alone. If the Parliament be sovereign or absolute, every sovereign power must belong to that sovereign body or to one or more of its members as forming a part or parts of it.'

Having thus assumed what he desires to prove—that there can be no severance, in the hands of distinct parties, of the sovereign powers of the executive and the legislature, he goes on to describe the king as merely an emanation of the sovereignty of Parliament.

unsuited to
complex
political
societies.

But it is impossible to regard the Crown either in fact or in history as an emanation of the sovereignty of Parliament.

Theoretically, there is no reason why legislative and executive duties should not be discharged by the same person or body of persons. It would be perfectly possible for such person or body to make laws binding on the whole community, to work the machinery of government, to determine the policy of the country in its foreign relations, to make peace and war. But, as M. Laveleye has pointed out², the construction of free and highly-organised states is complex, and the complexity increases with the guarantees for liberty which the constitution affords. Laws and taxes, which affect all, are, in such societies, agreed upon by a body large enough to be representative of the whole community, too large for prompt and united action such as is required of an executive which is to be vigorous and efficient.

It would seem to follow that the picture which Austin presents of a legislature issuing commands which the executive is constrained to obey, without which it can do nothing, is remote from fact. Unless every act of the executive is to be

¹ On Jurisprudence, vol. i. p. 257.

² 'On pourrait même formuler ce principe, que plus un régime politique est simple, plus il se rapproche de l'absolutisme; au contraire, plus il donne de garanties à la liberté, plus il est compliqué. Rien n'est aussi simple que le despotisme oriental, rien n'est plus compliqué que les institutions des Etats-Unis.' *Essai sur les formes de gouvernement*, p. 59.

done in obedience to a command of the legislature, the executive must be able to do things which are beyond recall, things which were never expressly ordered, perhaps never even contemplated by the legislature. That such things are daily done in free States is matter of common knowledge, and unless we are, like Austin, to be enslaved by a conception of sovereignty which can only be realised in an Oriental despotism, we must admit that there is in our constitution, as in others, a legislative sovereignty or supreme law-making power, and an executive sovereignty whose constitution may be changed, but whose acts are not, or cannot be, habitually controlled, by the other.

In our constitution we can say not only that the executive and legislative powers are distinct to the extent above described, but that we can trace the process by which their powers have become distinct. The common element in both is the Crown ; the Crown in Council once made laws and also conducted the business of government, and its powers in these matters have gradually and for different reasons passed into the hands of two different bodies. The need of money, which the Commons alone could supply, gave them, as we have seen, a hold upon legislation : while the jealousy of the great feudal lords who made up the council, and the inevitable increase of business beyond the capacity of an individual to transact, tended to place the conduct of the executive in the hands of servants or ministers of the Crown. The legislative and executive powers of the Crown have, as it were, bifurcated, and there is a real dualism in our constitution, the Crown in Parliament, and the Crown in Council. The severance took place so soon as Parliament arose, a body outside the executive, but necessary to the executive, by reason of its control over supply. Centuries of experience were needed to demonstrate the inconvenience of this dualism and to suggest the remedy. We now see the *de facto* executive, the ministers of the Crown, living their political lives in the midst of the legislature, and acting necessarily in close harmony with the majority of the representatives of the people. We forget that the executive

Executive
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They are
distinct
powers of
the Crown

lodged in
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into
harmony
by Cabinet
and Party
govern-
ment.

de jure is the Crown in Council, that the Crown in this capacity is wholly outside Parliament, that the part which the Crown plays in Parliament is to make laws, and not to formulate or defend a policy. The difficulty of understanding our constitution may perhaps be diminished if we remember that the Crown in Council was once the sole repository of sovereign power, whether executive or legislative ; that this power has now passed into two different sets of hands, Ministers and Parliament ; while the Crown, in name, does the acts of State ; and in name, though we are apt to forget it, enacts laws ; and that a happy combination of circumstances has brought into intimate connection the two bodies into whose hands the real power in these matters has passed. We shall be most helped in this inquiry by fixing the attention upon what has happened, and what does happen, instead of relying, like Blackstone, upon phrases ; or, like Austin, wresting facts into harmony with an abstract conception of what a sovereign ought to be.

But really twofold.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

I HAVE now endeavoured to define what I mean by the words 'Constitutional Law': I have given a brief sketch of the mode in which political forces have been disposed at different times in our own constitution; and I have pointed out some characteristics in which our constitution differs from others, not only in the actual rules of which it consists, but in the process of its development, and the shape in which it presents itself to the student.

I now propose to deal, first, with the Legislature, and then with the Executive of this country. I have given reasons in the last words of the preceding chapter for treating the two as distinct parts of the sovereign body, and for holding that it is impossible to subordinate the one to the other. But though Parliament does not in fact control the executive, there is nothing which by legislation it might not effect. It is the supreme power in the state and should be dealt with first.

So I propose to divide the general subject-matter of my treatise into Parliament and the Crown, or the Legislature and the Executive, and to devote this volume to the consideration of Parliament.

The subjects which fall under the head of Parliament may conveniently be arranged thus:—

First, we must get Parliament together and regard it as

The meeting of Parliament. a whole in respect of its summons, the setting in motion of its business, its adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution.

Constitution and privileges of the Houses.

Legislation.

The Crown in Parliament.

Interference of executive with legislature.

The High Court of Parliament.

Secondly, we must consider in detail the constituent parts of the two Houses of Parliament, the Commons and the Lords, in respect of the process by which the members of either House attain to membership, and the privileges which such membership confers upon the individuals, or which the Houses collectively enjoy.

Thirdly, we must trace the process of legislation in so far as it is effected by the joint action of the two Houses.

Fourthly, we must consider the part which the Crown plays in making laws and in communicating with the two Houses.

Fifthly, we must note as a matter of history, necessary to be dealt with in order that we may understand the present relations of the Houses of Parliament and the Crown, the attempts which the Crown has made to interfere with or to influence the action of the Houses, and the attempts which one branch of the Legislature has made to control the action of the rest.

Lastly, we must deal with certain functions of Parliament, other than legislative, which may be conveniently included in the term sometimes used for the Houses, 'the High Court of Parliament.'

§ 1. Parties to legislation.

The parties to legislation. There are three necessary parties to legislation—the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons. Nominally the Crown makes laws, and the Lords and Commons advise as to their making and assent to them when made; and their assent is necessary to give validity to the law enacted. And so the enacting clause of every Statute runs thus:—

'Be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows.'

The actual process by which laws are made, and the part which the Crown bears in making them, will be dealt with

later; and the omnipotence of the legislature thus constituted may properly be considered when we have seen what it is made of, and how it works. It is enough here that laws can only be made by an assembled Parliament, and by the concurrence of the two bodies of which that Parliament consists, and of the Crown.

And first we must ascertain who are invited to attend upon this Parliament, for what purposes and in what manner it is brought together, how its business is set in motion, and how it may be dismissed for a time or dissolved for good.

We shall find in the end, that, as regards the functions ^{The duties of Parliament.} of Parliament, the bodies of which Parliament consists are not summoned mainly, or even primarily, for purposes of legislation; that legislation is only one of various functions which they discharge; that they discuss all matters of public interest; that they criticise the conduct of ministers; that they may address the Crown on matters of general policy, and in the last resort may bring to justice a great political offender. But what we are concerned with here is the legal constitution of the Houses of Parliament, the legal rights of their members, and of each House in its entirety, and their power, in conjunction with the Crown, of making laws which can affect all private and public rights within the United Kingdom.

The right to discuss matters of general interest, the right to criticise the conduct of ministers, is also matter of constitutional law and must be dealt with under the head of Parliamentary privilege and otherwise. But we must first construct ^{The constitution of Parliament.} the constitution, and it is necessary, in order to understand its early history.

§ 2. Who are summoned to Parliament.

We need not consider the Assembly of the Wise under the Saxon monarchy, nor the Council of the Magnates under the Norman kings; it is enough that in times when the

business of State was rather the declaration and enforcement of custom than the enactment of new laws or the changing of old ones, and when the King discharged in person the executive duties of government, he acted in concert with a body which, whether the qualification for membership was wisdom or property, advised, and to some extent controlled, his action.

The assembly
of tenants
in-chief.

The first formal provision for the summons of an assembly which in any way corresponds to a modern Parliament in the mode and object of its summons, is to be found in the Magna Charta of 1215.

Magna
Charta,
s. 12.

s. 14.

In the twelfth section of the Charter, John promises that he will not levy scutage or aid other than the three recognized feudal aids, ‘*nisi per commune consilium regni*.’ And in the fourteenth section, the process of holding this Common Council is described. Archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, are to be summoned individually, ‘*sigillatim per literas nostras*.’ The tenants-in-chief are to be summoned ‘*in generali*’ by writs addressed to the sheriffs. The writs in all cases are to name the day and place of meeting, and the cause of summons. Forty days’ notice, at least, is to be given, and on the day named the Council is to transact the business for which it has been summoned, whether or no it is attended by all to whom the summons is addressed.

How far this clause of Magna Charta expressed and formulated existing practice is not clear. It was omitted from subsequent confirmations of the charter, and it may have been omitted as unnecessary because it was merely declaratory; or as unpopular with the barons who procured these confirmations because it was too stringent; or lastly, it may have been omitted from no special design, but because other matters were more pressing at the time of the confirmations.

But though it provided for a systematic assemblage of a large body of persons interested in the matter of taxation, and though it exhibits, in the two modes of summons, the germ of the distinction between Lords and Commons, yet the assembly

for which it provides differs obviously in various ways from the later Parliament.

It differed, firstly, in that it was not representative. The How far
clergy are not summoned as an estate, nor are the Commons ; different
from the
the inferior clergy, the towns, and those freeholders of the shires who held of *mesne* lords have no place in the *commune concilium* of the Angevin kings. Parliament
of Edw. I.

It differed, secondly, in the matters to be submitted to it : it was not summoned to advise the king generally, but to assent to a special form of taxation.

In fact the representative system had already begun, and the provisions of 1215 described an assembly of a type which was already passing away. The constitution of the shire moot or county court had always been representative, and the practice of representation had been applied to the kingdom at large in 1213. For to a council held in that year had been summoned 'four discreet men' of each county, to be sent up by the shire moot without reference to their tenure.

Shire representation, as opposed to representation of the tenants-in-chief, does not recur until 1254, when the regents of the kingdom (Henry III being in Gascony) summoned four knights from each shire, and representatives of the clergy from each diocese. The towns were first represented in the famous Parliament of Simon de Montfort; and then through various assemblies, more or less completely representative of the various interests of the country, we reach 'the great and model Parliament,' summoned by Edward I in 1295¹.

This Parliament, both as to causes of summons, and as to The modal
constitution, may be justly regarded as the ideal of a repre- Parlia-
sentative assembly for the age in which it existed. It was in ment, and
fact to the kingdom what the full county-court was to the shire, an assemblage in which every class and every interest had a place. who were summoned.

And so it was intended to be by the great king who had the skill and courage to adapt the organisation of the county

¹ Stubbs. Const. Hist. ii. 128.

court to the requirements of the kingdom. 'As it was a just rule,' he says, 'that what concerns all should by all be approved, so it is very plain that we should meet common dangers by remedies devised in common.'

Summons of estate of clergy; To this Parliament were summoned by special writ the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and to the writ of summons of the two former was attached the *præmunientes* clause directing the attendance of the heads of cathedral chapters, of the archdeacons, and of proctors to represent the chapters and baronage; the parochial clergy. Special writs of summons were directed to seven earls and forty-one barons. And writs were addressed to the sheriffs bidding them cause to be elected two knights of each shire, two citizens of each city, two burgesses of each borough.

Thus we get a representation of the three estates of the realm, the clergy, baronage, and commons, and their respective duties are defined in the writs which summon them. The clergy and baronage are summoned 'ad tractandum ordinandum et faciendum,' the commons 'ad faciendum quod tunc de communi concilio ordinabitur.'

Parliament, then, was in its origin, and is still in law, a representative assembly of the three estates of the realm; for all three are still summoned to Parliament.

The clergy drop out from legislation, But, in fact, the attendance of the clergy was always given reluctantly; they preferred to meet in their provincial convocations: there they granted taxes for their own estate, and the kings, since they got what they wanted from these assemblies, ceased to press for the attendance of the clergy in Parliament. They are omitted from the enactment of Edward II, which confines the supreme legislative power to the king acting with the consent of the prelates, earls, barons, and the commonalty of the realm in Parliament. There is no evidence of their attendance from the end of the fourteenth century onward. In 1664 the mode of granting money for the extraordinary needs of state was changed, and the clergy gave up the right to offer separate subsidies to the crown;

from taxation.

they threw in their lot with the laity, and consented to abide by the taxation imposed in Parliament. In 1663, for 15 Car. II. the last time, they granted separate subsidies; in 1664 the ^{c. 10.} ^{16 Car. II.} Act which imposes the taxation of the year includes the ^{c. 1, s. 36.} clergy, but saves their right to tax themselves; and henceforth no distinction is made in taxing clergy and laity, though the clergy are still summoned in the writs addressed to archbishops and bishops at the commencement of every Parliament.

It has been necessary to trace the change from the early councils of the magnates and tenants in chief to the full representation of the estates of the realm, because it is not easy to understand some parts of our Parliamentary constitution without reference to their history.

The ancient council of the king passed into the House of Lords, and carried with it certain privileges and duties at-
tributable to its earlier stage of existence. It is not as a <sup>Survival of
early con-
stitution of
Parlia-
ment.</sup> representation of the baronage, but as members of the *magnum concilium* that the Peers are the hereditary counsellors of the Crown, and in their judicial capacity form an ultimate court of appeal. It is because they were once members of the *magnum concilium* that the judges are now summoned to advise, though not to sit as Peers of Parliament. The clergy are still summoned as an estate of the realm, though for centuries their summons has been a mere form. And the connection of the representation of the Commons with the county court and the organisation of the shire is still indicated by the part which the sheriff takes in county elections, while, down to the year 1872, such elections still took place in the county court, and the identity of the member and the powers conferred on him were testified by indentures to which the sheriff and the men of the county were parties.

We have now glanced as briefly as may be at the historical beginnings of Parliament, so as to learn what a Parliament is. It is an assemblage of the three estates of the realm, which one of the estates persistently declines to attend. It consists, therefore, of the baronage and commons summoned by the Crown.

§ 3. Objects of Summons.

Objects of summons: It will be best to consider next for what purposes it is summoned, and in what manner.

historical; The king, when he summoned a Parliament at the beginning of our Parliamentary history, had two distinct objects in view, neither of which would have been adequately attained without a representation of the estates as complete as was possible at that time. He wanted money, and he wanted to ascertain that the nation was with him in matters of general policy. It was for this reason that the writs to the sheriffs desire that the representatives of the commons may have ample power, ‘ita quod pro defectu hujusmodi potestatis negotium infectum non remaneat.’ Labour would be thrown away if the representatives granted an aid which their constituents repudiated. It was for this reason, too, that the Commons were consulted on questions of general administration and of peace and war, though they endeavoured to adopt the position of critics and advisers without incurring the responsibilities of the executive, and wisely declined to advocate a policy which, if followed, might involve pecuniary liabilities to themselves and their representatives¹.

Modern; At the present time the Commons have entire control over the finances of the country; the revenues with which the financial; Crown can deal without the intervention of Parliament are not enough to carry on the business of government for a single day. No doubt there is a considerable revenue derived from taxes which do not depend on annual Acts of Parliament; but little of this revenue can be applied without the consent of Parliament which appropriates every session the money which is raised to the services for which it is wanted.

legislative; And there is another necessity for the meeting of Parliament which is comparatively modern. The machinery of government has become infinitely complex: it requires to be renewed or remodelled by almost continuous legislation.

¹ *Stubbs, Const. Hist.* iii. 603.

Some Acts of Parliament are temporary, either because they are experimental, or because they confer powers on the executive which it is thought expedient for the legislature to control by annual enactment. Instances of the first of these kinds of legislation are the Ballot Act and the Employer's Liability Act, of the second the Army Discipline Act. And besides these, there are incessant demands upon Parliament for new legislation, to regulate trades, to confer powers upon public bodies, or to impose checks upon the use of powers already conferred, to control the exercise of the rights of property or even of contract. Mediaeval legislation, where it was not simply declaratory of custom, was scanty, and, to judge from the preambles of statutes, timid and even apologetic. Modern legislation is restless, bold, and almost inquisitorial in its dealings with the daily concerns of life.

But the Queen, when she calls a new Parliament, makes but, in no mention of the financial or legislative duties which that Parliament is summoned to discharge. She calls it 'being desirous and resolved as soon as may be to meet her people, and to have their advice in Parliament.' It is in fact for purposes of discussion primarily that Parliament is summoned. Its legislative activity has developed, since the form of the Royal Proclamation which calls it has become settled by custom.

§ 4. *Forms of Summons.*

The existence of Parliament in modern times is kept as nearly continuous as possible, and hence the dissolution of one Parliament and the calling of another are effected by the same Royal Proclamation issued under the Great Seal. The Proclamation discharges the existing Parliament from its duties of attendance, declares the desire of the Crown to have the advice of its people, and the royal will and pleasure to call a new Parliament. It further announces an order given by the Crown to the Chancellor of Great Britain and Ireland to issue the necessary writs, and states that this Proclamation is to be their authority for so doing.

Order in
Council.

Until recent times it was the practice for a warrant under the sign manual to be given by the Crown to the Chancellor to issue the necessary writs. This has ceased to be done: an Order in Council is made directing that writs shall be issued, but, as a matter of fact, the Royal Proclamation is treated by the Crown Office in Chancery as the authority for the issue of the writs to be presently described.

It may be convenient to set out here the form of Proclamation above described and of the Order in Council following upon it:—

By the Queen.

A PROCLAMATION FOR DISSOLVING THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT
AND DECLARING THE CALLING OF ANOTHER.

VICTORIA R.—Whereas we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to dissolve this present Parliament, which stands prorogued to Tuesday, the 13th day of April next, we do for that end publish this our Royal proclamation, and do hereby dissolve the said Parliament accordingly; and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and the Commissioners for shires and burghs, of the House of Commons are discharged from their meeting and attendance on the said Tuesday, the 13th day of April next; and we, being desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet our people, and to have their advice in Parliament, do hereby make known to all our loving subjects our Royal will and pleasure to call a new Parliament; and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of our Privy Council, we have given order that our Chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom called Great Britain, and our Chancellor of Ireland, do, respectively upon notice thereof, forthwith issue our writs in due form, and according to law, for calling a new Parliament; and we do hereby also, by this our Royal proclamation under our Great Seal of our United Kingdom, require writs forthwith to be issued accordingly by our said Chancellors respectively, for causing the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, who are to serve in the said Parliament, to be duly returned to, and to give their attendance in, our said Parliament; which writs are to be returnable on Thursday, the 29th day of April next. Given at our Court at Windsor, this 24th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1880, and in the 43rd year of our reign. God save the Queen.

Order in Council for the Issue of Writs.

At the Court at Windsor, the 24th day of March, 1880. Present, The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council. Her Majesty having been this day pleased by Her Royal Proclamation to dissolve the present Parliament and to declare the calling of another, is hereby further pleased, by and with the advice of her Privy Council, to order that the Right Honourable the Lord High Chancellor of that part of the United Kingdom called Great Britain, and the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, do respectively, and upon notice of this Her Majesty's order, forthwith cause writs to be issued in due form and according to law for the calling of a new Parliament, to meet at the city of Westminster; which writs are to be returnable on Thursday, the 29th day of April, 1880.

The writs were returnable, according to the provisions of *Magna Charta*, within forty days of their issue; this period was extended after the union with Scotland to fifty days, and has been reduced, in view of the greater ease of communication, by an Act of the present reign, to thirty-five days.

15 Vict.
c. 23.

The writs issued from the Crown Office are addressed to five different classes of persons: to the temporal peers of England, to the spiritual peers of England, to the twenty-eight temporal peers of Ireland, to the judges of the High Court of Justice, the Attorney and Solicitor General, and the Queen's Ancient Serjeant, and to the returning officers of places entitled to elect members to serve in Parliament.

The writs are in the following forms:—

Writ of Summons to a Temporal Peer of England.

Victoria by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, to our —— Temporal Peer.

— Greeting. Whereas by the advice and consent of Our Council for certain arduous and urgent affairs concerning us, the State and defence of our said United Kingdom and the Church, We have ordered a certain Parliament to be holden at our City of Westminster on the —— day of —— next ensuing, and there to treat and have conference with the Prelates, Great Men, and Peers of our Realm. We strictly enjoining command you upon the

faith and allegiance by which you are bound to us that the weightiness of the said affairs and imminent perils considered (waiving all excuses) you be at the said day and place personally present with Us and with the said Prelates, Great Men, and Peers, to treat and give your council upon the affairs aforesaid. And this as you regard Us and Our honour and the safety and defence of the said United Kingdom and Church and dispatch of the said affairs in no wise do you omit. Witness Ourselves at Westminster the day of in the year of our Reign.

To ——. A writ of summons to Parliament the day of next.

Writ of summons to a Spiritual Peer (with Praemunientes clause.)

Writ to
spiritual
peer.

Victoria by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, to —— Greeting. Whereas by the advice and assent of Our Council for certain arduous and urgent affairs concerning Us the State and defence of Our said United Kingdom and the Church, We have ordered a certain Parliament to be holden at our City of Westminster on the —— day of —— next ensuing, and there to treat and have conference with the Prelates, Great Men, and Peers of our Realm, We strictly enjoining command you *upon the faith and love* by which you are bound to Us that the weightiness of the said affairs and imminent perils considered (waiving all excuses) you be at the said day and place personally present with Us and with the said Prelates, Great Men, and Peers, to treat and give your council upon the affairs aforesaid. And this as you regard Us and Our honour and the safety and defence of the said United Kingdom and Church and dispatch of the said affairs in nowise do you omit.

Praemuni-
entes
clause.

Forewarning the Dean and Chapter of your Church of —— and the Archdeacons and all the Clergy of your Diocese that they the said Dean and Archdeacon in their proper persons and the said Chapter by one and the said Clergy by two meet Proctors severally, having full and sufficient authority from them the said Chapter and Clergy, at the said day and place to be personally present to consent to those things which them and there by the Common Council of our said United Kingdom (by the favour of the Divine Clemency) shall happen to be ordained. Witness Ourselves at Westminster the —— day of —— in the —— year of our Reign.

To ——. A writ of summons to Parliament, to be holden the —— day of —— next.

The writ of summons to an Irish Representative Peer follows the form of the writ addressed to the peer of Great Britain, after first reciting the fact that the peer summoned had been duly elected in pursuance of the provisions of the Act of Union.

Writ of summons addressed to the Judges, the Attorney and Solicitor General, and the Queen's Ancient Serjeant.

Victoria, &c., to our trusty and well beloved — Greeting. Writ to Whereas by the advice and assent of our Council for certain judge, &c. arduous and urgent affairs concerning Us the State and defence of our said United Kingdom and the Church we have ordered a certain Parliament to be holden at our City of Westminster on the — day of — next ensuing and there to treat and have conference with the Prelates, Great Men, and Peers of our Realm. We strictly enjoining command you that (waiving all excuses) you be at the said day and place personally present with us and with the rest of our Council to treat and give your advice upon the affairs aforesaid, and this in no wise do you omit.

Witness Ourself at Westminster, &c.

Writ addressed to the sheriff or returning officer of a county or borough for the election of a member of the House of Commons.

Victoria by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, to — Statutory writ to sheriff. Greeting. Whereas by the advice of our Council We have ordered a Parliament to be holden at Westminster on the — day of — next, We command you that, notice of the time and place of election being first duly given, you do cause election to be made according to law of [one] member to serve in Parliament for —. And that you do cause the name of such member when so elected, whether he be present or absent, to be certified to us in Our Chancery, without delay.

Witness Ourself at Westminster the — day of — in the — year of Our Reign and in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and —.

To —. A writ of a new election of — member for the 35 & 36 Vict. c. 33. said —.

As to these writs it is desirable to note the following points:—

Scotch
peers.

1. The Scotch representative peers do not receive a writ of summons; their election is made in pursuance of a separate Proclamation, and is certified to the clerk of the Crown in Chancery by the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland, and by the clerk of the Crown to the clerk of the House of Lords.

Irish peers.

2. The mode of election of the Irish representative peers will be dealt with hereafter.

Temporal
and Spi-
ritual peers.

3. The temporal peers are summoned as in the mediæval writs ‘on their faith and allegiance,’ and the spiritual peers in like manner ‘on their faith and love,’ and in other respects the writs of to-day differ little if at all from those of four hundred years ago.

Præmu-
nientes
clause.

4. The Præmunientes clause by which the Bishop is instructed to summon the clergy of his diocese to be present and consent to that which Parliament may ordain still recognizes the position of the clergy as an estate of the realm, and it must be distinguished carefully from the summons to Convocation, an exclusively clerical assembly, of which more hereafter.

Judges'
summons.

5. The Judges, together with the Queen’s Ancient Serjeant (when that office is filled) and the Attorney and Solicitor General are summoned, but in an inferior capacity. They are not summoned ‘on their faith and allegiance,’ nor to be present ‘with the said Prelates, Peers, and Great Man,’ but ‘with us and with the rest of our council to treat and give your advice.’

It is in virtue of this summons that the Judges are called upon to give their opinions on difficult points of law which come before the House of Lords as a Court of Appeal. But they do not come as Peers of Parliament, and recent procedure in the matter of their summons shows that it is regarded rather as an obligation than as a dignity.

For before the Judicature Act the summons, by long custom, was limited to the judges of the old Common Law courts, the Chief Justices and puisne judges of the Queen’s Bench and

Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron and Barons of the Exchequer.

Since the Judicature Act the summons is extended to all the judges of the High Court of Justice, but not to the Lords Justices of Appeal, because their higher rank is thought to exempt them from the liability to a summons. Nor would this writ in any case be issued to a judge who was entitled to be summoned as a temporal peer.

6. The writ addressed to the returning officer for the election of a member of the House of Commons is a modern form provided by the Ballot Act of 1872.

But it is worth while to set out the form of writ which was in use until that date, because it shows how near we still are to the constitutional forms of the middle ages, and because it indicates, more clearly than the abbreviated modern form, the objects of summons and the relation of the representative to his constituents.

Writ addressed to the Sheriff of Middlesex 17th July, 1837.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, to the Sheriff of ^{Common law writ to sheriff.} the County of Middlesex, Greeting. Whereas by the advice and assent of Our Council, for certain arduous and urgent affairs concerning Us, the State and defence of our said United Kingdom and the Church, We have ordered a certain Parliament to be holden at our City of Westminster on the 4th day of September next ensuing. *And there to treat and have conference with the Prelates, Great Men, and Peers of our Realm,* We command and strictly enjoin you (Proclamation hereof, and of the time and place of election being first duly made) for the said COUNTY *two Knights of the most fit and discreet, girt with swords,* and for the City of Westminster, in the same County, *two Citizens,* and for each of the *Boroughs* of the Tower Hamlets, Finsbury, and Marylebone, in the same County, *two Burgesses* of the most sufficient and discreet, freely and indifferently by those who at such election shall be *Post,* present according to the form of the Statutes in that case made and pp. 89, 90. provided, you cause to be elected; and the names of such knights,

citizens, and burgesses so to be elected, whether they be present or absent, you cause to be inserted in certain Indentures to be thereupon made between you, and those who shall be present at such election, and then at the day and place aforesaid you cause to come in such manner that the said Knights for themselves, and the Commonalty of the same County, and the said Citizens and Burgesses for themselves, and the Commonalty of the said City and Boroughs respectively, may have from them *full and sufficient power to do and consent to those things which then and there by the Common Council of our said United Kingdom (by the blessing of God) shall happen to be ordained upon the aforesaid affairs, So that for want of such power or through an improvident election of the said Knights, Citizens, or Burgesses the aforesaid affairs may in no wise remain unfinished.*

Willing nevertheless that neither you nor Post, p. 74. any other Sheriff of our said Kingdom be in any wise elected. And the election so made distinctly and openly under your seal and the seals of those who shall be present at such election, *certify you to us in our Chancery,* at the day and place aforesaid, remitting to Us one part of the aforesaid indentures annexed to these presents, together with this writ. Witness Ourself at Westminster the 17th day of July in the 1st year of our reign.

To the Sheriff of the County of Middlesex. Writ of election to Parliament to be holden the 11th day of September next.

The sheriff thereupon issued precepts to the bailiff of the 'Liberty of the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter at Westminster,' and to the returning officers of the boroughs, and the precepts were returned to him when the elections were duly made; the county election took place in the county court, and the return was sent, together with the returns from the city and boroughs, to the Crown Office in Chancery.

These returns were in all cases accompanied by indentures, to

⁷ Hen. IV. which the returning officer and a number of electors were parties.

c. 5.

²³ Hen. VI. They were required by Acts of Henry IV, and Henry VI, and c. 15. their object was to secure that the persons returned by the

sheriff were in truth the persons elected by the constituencies. The indentures follow closely the terms of the writ, and the terms of the writ, being the same or nearly the same as in the

beginnings of representation are express in the requirement that the person returned should have full power to bind the constituency. The indenture therefore at first sight creates the impression that it was designed to constrain the electors to abide by the acts and promises of their representative done on their behalf. But in fact the object of the indenture, as may be seen from the statute which requires it, was to secure the identity of the person elected with the person returned.

Thus much as to the mode in which a Parliament is summoned. We have next to see how it is brought together and its business set in motion.

§ 5. *The opening of Parliament.*

The Parliament meets on the day appointed in the Pro-
clamation of summons. The Sovereign is not usually present The assembling of the House.
at the opening of a new Parliament, but issues a commission under the Great Seal for that purpose. The Houses assemble in their respective chambers, and the Commons are summoned to the House of Lords. There the letters patent constituting a commission for the opening of Parliament are read, and the Lord Chancellor desires the Commons to choose a Speaker.

Of the Speaker we shall have more to say presently. It is enough here to note that he is not only chairman of the Commons for the purpose of maintaining order and declaring or interpreting the rules of the House, but also the spokesman and representative of the House for the purpose of communications made in its collective capacity to the Crown.

The Commons retire to choose their Speaker, the formal Election of Speaker. business of the chair being, for the purposes of the election, discharged by the clerk of the House. On the election being made the Speaker takes the chair, and the mace, the symbol of his office, is laid before him on the table.

The House adjourns until the following day, and then the Speaker takes the chair until summoned by the officer of the Lords to the presence of the Lords Commissioners. He goes to the bar of the House of Lords with the members of the

Commons, announces his election, and ‘ submits himself with all humility to her Majesty’s gracious approbation.’

The Lord Chancellor expresses the approval by her Majesty of the choice of the Commons, and confirms him as Speaker. After this is done he demands the ‘ancient and undoubted rights and privileges of the Commons.’ These are granted, and the Speaker with the Commons returns to the Lower House.

There are two things to consider before we come to the declaration by the Queen of the objects of summons in the speech from the Throne.

Evidence
of member-
ship.

(a) The first is the evidence by which the members of the two Houses can establish their rights to membership.

(b) The second is the perfecting of the title to sit.

(a) In the Lords those who have received writs of summons present them at the table of the House, the roll of those entitled, as hereditary peers of England, to receive writs, being delivered by the Garter King at Arms. The title of the representative peers of Scotland is evidenced by a certificate delivered by the clerk of the Crown of a return made to him by the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland. Garter King of Arms delivers at the table of the House a list of the Lords Temporal, and the list is ordered to lie upon the table. A new peer presents his patent to the Lord Chancellor at the Woolsack, and this, together with his writ of summons, is read by the clerk of the House.

In the Commons the clerk of the House receives from the clerk of the Crown in Chancery a book containing a list of the returns made to the writs issued, and this is the sole evidence furnished to the House. The returns themselves are retained in the Crown Office during the continuance of a Parliament in case reference should be required to be made to them. After this they are transferred to the Petty Bag Office, and ultimately to the Record Office.

Perfecting
of title to
sit.

(b) The second is the perfecting of the title of a member to discharge the duties of his office, and for this it is necessary in the House of Lords that the oath of allegiance should be taken

Post,
p. 195.

and subscribed, and in the House of Commons that this should be done or a declaration made to the same effect.

It had been customary for members of both Houses of Parliament to take the oath of allegiance from the year 1534 onwards, and the oath of supremacy from the year 1558.

The oath of supremacy was required to be taken by the Commons in the fifth year of Elizabeth, and the oath of allegiance in the seventh year of James I, but these oaths were taken before the Lord Steward sitting in the Court of Requests. It was not until the last year of Charles II that they were prescribed to be taken by both Houses and in Parliament. By an Act of 30 Car. II, that year the Lords and Commons in their respective Houses were to take and subscribe the oaths of allegiance and supremacy before they were entitled to sit and vote. The law on this subject has undergone various changes. As provided by 31 & 32 Vict. c. 72, the form of oath required runs thus :—

I —— do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria her heirs and successors according to law. So help me God.

For this oath a solemn form of declaration has been substituted, in the case of Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists, by 19 & 20 Vict. c. 19.

As regards the time of taking the oath : when a new Parliament meets, the Lords take the oath as soon as the Parliament has been opened ; the Commons as soon as the Speaker has been approved by the Crown, and has himself taken the oath. On the election of a member during the continuance of a Parliament he is entitled to take the oath as soon as the certificate of his return has reached the Clerk of the House.

The time for taking the oath is in the House of Lords limited to the hours between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. In the Commons it may be taken at any time of the day that a full House is sitting, and before it has commenced business.

It should be noted that a failure to take the oath prevents a member of the House of Commons from sitting and voting Result of failure to take it.

as a member of the House, but that he is none the less a member as regards his constituency, and that he is for some purposes a member of the House of Commons. His seat is not vacant, and he is capable of discharging all the duties and enjoying all the rights of a member short of sitting within the bar of the House, taking part in its debates, and voting in its divisions. When the Houses are duly constituted by the completion of the forms described, Parliament is prepared to hear the causes for which it is summoned.

At the commencement of a session which is not also the commencement of a Parliament the proceedings relating to the election of a Speaker and the taking of the oath are not needed, and the Houses are at once informed of the causes of summons.

The speech
from the
Throne.

The Queen, if she meets Parliament in person, goes down to the House of Lords, and takes her seat upon the throne; the Lord Chamberlain is bidden to desire the usher of the black rod, the officer of the House, to *command* the attendance of the Commons. The Commons, with the Speaker at their head, come to the bar of the House of Lords, and the Queen reads her speech to the House, in which she informs them of the business to be laid before them.

When Parliament is opened by commission, the Lords Commissioners in like manner bid the officer of the House to *desire* the attendance of the Commons, and the speech is read by the Lord Chancellor acting under the commands of the Crown. The Houses adjourn, and when they re-assemble proceed to the consideration of the Speech from the Throne; but before doing so they assert their right to deal with other matters than those referred to in the speech, by reading a Bill for the first time *pro forma*. The speech is then read again in each House, and in each House it is moved that an address be made in answer.

To this address amendments may be moved, and thus the general policy of the Government, as indicated by the Speech from the Throne, is brought under discussion.

Each House, when its address has been agreed to, orders it ^{May, Parl.} to be presented to the Queen, but the formalities as to the ^{Pract.} _{224-225.} mode of presentment need not be dealt with here.

It may give more reality to the details of procedure if I set out extracts from the Journals of the Houses describing the forms of opening Parliament in the year 1880.

On the first assembling of the House of Lords,

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, that it not being ¹¹² Lords convenient for Her Majesty to be personally present here this day, ^{J. 123.} she has been pleased to cause a Commission under the Great Seal to be prepared in order to the holding of this Parliament.

The House adjourned during pleasure, to robe.

The House was resumed.

Then five of the Lords Commissioners, being in their robes, and Summons seated on a form placed between the Throne and the Woolsack, the ^{of Com-}
Lord Chancellor in the middle, with the Lord Privy Seal and the mons.
Earl Sydney on his right hand, and the Earl Granville and the Earl of Northbrook on his left, commanded the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to let the Commons know, the Lords Commissioners 'desire their immediate attendance in this House, to hear the Commission read.'

Who being come, with their Speaker ; the Lord Chancellor said—

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'We are commanded by Her Majesty to let you know, that it Powers of not being convenient for Her to be present here this day, in Her ^{Commis-}
Royal person, She hath thought fit, by Letters Patent under the sion.
Great Seal, to empower His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and several Lords therein named to do all things, in Her Majesty's name, which are to be done on Her Majesty's part in this Parliament, as by Letters Patent will more fully appear.'

Then the said Letters Patent were read by the Clerk.

And then the Lord Chancellor said—

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'We have it in command from Her Majesty to let you know, that Direction as soon as the members of both Houses shall be sworn, the causes to elect of Her Majesty's calling this Parliament will be declared to you ; and it being necessary a Speaker of the House of Commons should be first chosen, it is Her Majesty's pleasure that you, gentlemen of the House of Commons, repair to the place where you are to sit,

and there proceed to the choice of some proper person to be your Speaker; and that you present such person whom you shall so choose, here, to-morrow, at two of the clock, for Her Majesty's royal approbation.'

We will now change the scene to the House of Commons, to which the members of that House returned.

^{135 Com.}
_{J. 123.}

Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, addressing himself to the Clerk (who, standing up, pointed to him and then sat down), proposed to the House, for their Speaker, the Right Honourable Henry Bouverie William Brand; and moved, 'That the Right Honourable Henry Bouverie William Brand do take the chair of this House as Speaker'; which motion was seconded by Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton.

The House then calling Mr. Henry Bouverie William Brand to the chair, he stood up in his place, and expressed the sense he had of the honour proposed to be conferred upon him, and submitted himself to the House.

^{Election of}
Speaker.

The House then again unanimously calling Mr. Henry Bouverie William Brand to the chair, he was taken out of his place by the said Sir Thomas Dyke Acland and Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, and conducted to the chair, where, standing on the upper step, he returned his humble acknowledgments to the House for the great honour they had been pleased to confer upon him, by unanimously choosing him to be again their Speaker.

And thereupon he sat down in the chair; and then the Mace (which before lay under the table) was laid upon the table.

Then Lord Frederick Cavendish, having congratulated Mr. Speaker elect, moved, 'That the House do now adjourn'; and Sir Stafford Northcote, having also congratulated Mr. Speaker elect, the House accordingly adjourned till to-morrow.

On the following day, the 30th of April, the Lords met, and five of the Lords Commissioners being seated as before again sent to the Commons to desire their immediate attendance in this House.

^{112 Lords}
_{J. 126.}

Who being come;
The Right Honourable Henry Bouverie William Brand said—
'My Lords,
'I have to acquaint your Lordships that in obedience to Her Majesty's commands, the Commons have, according to their un-

doubted rights and privileges, proceeded to the election of a Speaker, and that their choice has fallen upon myself. I now present myself at your Lordships' bar, and submit myself with all humility to Her Majesty's gracious approbation.'

Then the Lord Chancellor said—

'Mr. Brand,

'We are commanded to assure you that Her Majesty is so fully Approval of Speaker.
sensible of your zeal for the public service, and of your ample sufficiency to execute the arduous duties which Her faithful Commons have selected you to discharge, that she does most readily approve and confirm you as their Speaker.'

Then Mr. Speaker said—

'My Lords,

'I submit myself with all humility and gratitude to Her Majesty's most gracious commands, and it is now my duty in the name and on behalf of the Commons of the United Kingdom, to Demand of privi-
lay claim by humble petition to Her Majesty to all their ancient leges.
and undoubted privileges, particularly to freedom of speech in debate, to freedom from arrest of their persons and servants, to free access to Her Majesty when occasion shall require; and that the most favourable construction should be put upon all their proceedings; and with regard to myself I pray that if any error should be committed it may be imputed to myself, and not to Her Majesty's loyal Commons.'

Then the Lord Chancellor said—

'Mr. Speaker,

'We have it further in command to inform you that Her Majesty does most readily confirm all the rights and privileges which have ever been granted to or conferred upon the Commons by any of her royal predecessors.'

'With respect to yourself, Sir, although Her Majesty is sensible that you stand in no need of such assurance, Her Majesty will ever put the most favourable constructions upon your words and actions.'

Then the Commons withdrew.

We will again follow them to their own House, whither being returned :—

Mr. Speaker reported—that the House had been in the House 135 Com. of Peers, where Her Majesty was pleased by Her Commissioners J. 123. to approve of the choice the House had made of him to be their

Report of Speaker.

Speaker ; and that he had in their name and on their behalf, by humble Petition to Her Majesty, laid claim to their ancient and undoubted Rights and Privileges, particularly to freedom from arrest and all molestation of their Persons and Servants ; to freedom of Speech in Debate ; to free access to Her Majesty when occasion shall require ; and that the most favourable construction should be put upon all their proceedings ; which, he said, Her Majesty, by Her said Commissioners, had confirmed to them in as full and ample a manner as they have been heretofore granted and allowed by Her Majesty, or any of Her Royal Predecessors.

And then Mr. Speaker repeated his most respectful acknowledgments to the House for the high honour they had done him.

Mr. Speaker then put the House in mind that the first thing to be done was to take and subscribe the oath required by law.

Taking of Oath.

And thereupon Mr. Speaker, first alone, standing upon the upper step of the Chair, took and subscribed the oath.

Then several Members took and subscribed the oath, and several Members made and subscribed the Affirmation required by law.

And then the House adjourned till to-morrow.

Adjournment for re-election.

The fact of a change of ministry having taken place in consequence of the result of the elections in 1880 caused a delay in the announcement of the causes of summons. The new ministers were obliged to offer themselves for re-election, and therefore on the 3rd of May the Commons were again summoned to the House of Lords to be told that so soon as the seats vacated by acceptance of office were filled they might proceed to the consideration of 'such matters as will then be laid before them.'

The Houses therefore proceeded with merely formal business, broken by adjournments for several days at a time. In the Commons orders were made for the Speaker to issue warrants to the Clerk of the Crown directing new writs to be made out for the election of members for the constituencies whose representatives had vacated their seats by the acceptance of office ; members took the oath or made the affirmation required by law ; despatches and papers were presented to the House. In the Lords formal business of a like character was transacted, and the judicial business of the House continued without interruption.

On the 20th of May the Commons were summoned in the form already described, and Her Majesty's speech was read. Speech from the Throne. The Commons, retiring to their House, transacted various matters of formal business, and read a first time the Clandestine Outlawries Bill, after which Bill read a first time.

Mr. Speaker reported that the House had been at the House of Peers at the desire of the Lords Commissioners appointed under the Great Seal for holding this present Parliament, and that the Lord High Chancellor being one of the said Commissioners delivered Her Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament in pursuance of Her Majesty's commands, and of which Mr. Speaker said he had for greater accuracy obtained a copy which he read to the House. ^{135 Com. J. 132.}

The address as made in answer to the Queen's Speech in either House calls for no comment. When settled and approved the Lords ordered their address to be presented to Her Majesty by 'the Lords with White Staves,' the Commons' address was to be presented 'by such members of this House as are of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.'

§ 6. *Adjournment, Prorogation, Dissolution.*

We have now brought Parliament to the stage at which it is fully constituted, opened, and ready to transact business. The nature of this business and the mode in which it is transacted shall be dealt with later. But having brought our Parliament into existence, it is important to know how that existence can be terminated; having put it into a position to transact business, it is important to know how that business can be stopped.

A dissolution brings the existence of Parliament to an end; a prorogation brings the session of Parliament to an end; an adjournment brings about a cessation of the business of one or other House for a period of hours, days, or weeks.

The adjournment of either House takes place at its own discretion, unaffected by the proceedings of the other House. Business pending at the time of the adjournment is taken up at the point at which it dropped when the House meets again.

The Crown cannot make either House adjourn, or compel a resumption of business at an earlier date than the conclusion of the adjournment. It has sometimes signified its pleasure that the Houses adjourn, but there is no reason why its pleasure should also be the pleasure of the Houses.

Proroga-
tion,

form of.

30 & 31
Vict. c. 81.

Prorogation takes place by the exercise of the royal prerogative; it ends the session of both Houses simultaneously, and terminates all pending business. A bill which has passed through some stages, but is not ripe for the royal assent at the date of Prorogation, must begin again at the beginning when Parliament is summoned again, and opened by a speech from the throne. Prorogation is effected either by the Queen coming to Parliament and the Royal commands being announced in her presence to both Houses by the Speaker of the House of Lords, or (2) by a like announcement being made by Royal Commissioners; or (3) by a writ issued under the Great Seal, a form only used when it is necessary to postpone the meeting of a new Parliament to a later day than that for which it was summoned; or (4) by royal Proclamation without any formality of a Commission; this last has been permissible since 1867, and is the usual form when Parliament is not sitting, and is prorogued to a later day than that announced at the close of the session.

The form of such a proclamation runs thus:—

By the Queen.

A PROCLAMATION.

VICTORIA R.

Whereas our Parliament stands prorogued to the twelfth day of November instant; We, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, hereby issue our Royal Proclamation, and publish and declare that the said Parliament be further prorogued to Wednesday, the nineteenth day of December, One thousand eight hundred and eighty-three.

Given at our Court at Balmoral this sixth day of November, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and eighty-three, and in the forty-seventh year of our reign.

God Save the Queen.

The dissolution of a Parliament may be effected either by Dissolution.
an exercise of the royal prerogative, or by efflux of time.

When the Crown exercises its prerogative it may do so By prerogative.
in person, should Parliament be sitting, or if not in person
by Royal Commission. If Parliament is not sitting, but
stands prorogued, it is dissolved by Proclamation in the
manner described on an earlier page.

The usual practice, if Parliament is sitting, is for the Queen
to prorogue it first and then issue the proclamation just
described.

Thus on the 24th of March, 1880, Parliament was pro-
rogued by Royal Commission until the 13th of April, and
on the evening of the same day a proclamation was issued
discharging the members of the two Houses from attendance
on the 13th of April, and dissolving the Parliament.

Efflux of time operates to dissolve a Parliament in virtue By efflux
of the Septennial Act, 1 Geo. I, c. 31, and this was a modifi-
cation of the provisions of the Triennial Act of 1694.
The last-mentioned Act was a limitation on the prerogative
possessed by the Crown to keep a Parliament in existence as
long as it pleased. The necessity for such a limitation had
become apparent in the reign of Charles II, who retained for
seventeen years the Parliament called at his accession. Events
showed that a House of Commons, if it was kept in being for
so long a time after its election, might cease to represent the
people; and that if the House depended wholly on the Crown
for the continuance of its existence it might be too ready to
favour the policy of the Court. For this and other reasons
the Bill for Triennial Parliaments was passed by both Houses
in 1693, but William withheld his assent until the Bill came
before him again in the following year. It then became law,
and so until the beginning of the reign of George I the law
stood. Within six months of the death of Anne—that is, early
in the year 1715—the Parliament which had been in existence
at the date of her death was dissolved; but when the new Par-
liament had been in existence little more than a year, it

Ante,
p. 48.

became clear that the operation of the Triennial Act might produce serious inconvenience, if not actual disaster. The succession to the Crown was in dispute, rebellion was still smouldering in the north, and there was risk of an invasion. Under these circumstances, and not perhaps from any theoretical preference for septennial over triennial elections, Parliament prolonged its own existence to a term of seven years. This is the present rule, and Parliament, if not sooner dissolved by royal prerogative, expires by efflux of time at the end of seven years.

Effect of
demise of
Crown.

Until 1867 the existence of Parliament was affected by the demise of the Crown. The king summoned the estates of the realm, by writ, to confer with him; when he died the invitation lapsed, and the Parliament was dissolved. The theory was not unreasonable, though the practice was inconvenient. For whatever may have been the law or the practice of early Teutonic societies as to the assemblage of the people, our representative institutions took their origin from the king's invitation to the three estates to appear in person, or by their representatives, to advise, assent, or enact. It was natural that the invitation should lapse and the assembly disperse when he who summoned it had died; for the mediæval Parliaments came together, not so much because the people wanted to take part in public affairs, as because the king wanted money and information; and the theory that Parliament owed its existence to the king's writ was true to this extent, that the writ was the recognised means by which the three estates could be brought together.

The inconvenience was met by a series of statutes, 7 & 8 Will. III, c. 15, enacted that Parliament should last for six months after the demise of the Crown, if not sooner dissolved by the new sovereign; and this rule was applied after the union with Scotland and with Ireland to Parliaments of the United Kingdom. 37 Geo. III, c. 127, s. 34, made provision for a demise of the Crown during a dissolution, in which case the preceding Parliament is to be revived for

six months. And now the Representation of the People Act, 30 & 31 Vict. c. 102, § 51, makes the duration of a Parliament independent of a demise of the Crown.

The inconveniences to which the doctrine while it lasted might give rise may best be illustrated in the case of the flight of James II, when the country was left without a king, and with no means of satisfying the legal requirements of form for summoning a Parliament. Inconveniences of the theory.

The Prince of Orange summoned the peers, such members of the last three Parliaments of Charles II as happened to be in London, and some citizens, and by their advice issued letters not in the form of writs, but of the same purport, addressed to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, to the Coroners, or in their default to the Clerks of the Peace of the counties, to the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities, and the chief Magistrates of the towns, summoning a Convention. When at the request of this Convention William and Mary had accepted the crown and all the elements of a legislature were present, a Bill was passed which turned the Convention into a Parliament. It was dissolved at the end of the year, and its acts were declared to be valid by the next Parliament.

It is interesting to consider how much of all the procedure which I have just described is law, and how much is custom. I would include under the term 'law' not only statute law, but that which is sometimes called the law of Parliament, a set of rules which are really part of the common law; and under the term 'custom' those conventions, a departure from which would not affect the validity of any parliamentary proceedings or touch any public or private right.

Statute law determines the number and indicates the mode of election of the representative peers of Scotland and Ireland, it determines the number of the spiritual peers and the number and status of the Lords of Appeal. It provides a form of writ to be addressed to the returning officers of counties and How much of this chapter is Statute Law : See Chapt. VI. p. 200.

towns. It fixes the form of oath to be taken or declaration made, and the penalty for non-observance of this rule. It determines the duration of Parliament subject to the prerogative right of the Crown to dissolve, and it has abolished the common law rule as to the effect of the demise of the Crown upon the existence of Parliament.

*how much
is Common
Law:* Common law governs all that relates to the prerogative of the Crown ; its right to summon Parliament and to summon it in the form of proclamation ; to open, prorogue, and dissolve it, and to do so either in person or by Commission¹.

The whole of the rights of the Peerage, except in so far as they are touched by Statute, are matter of Common Law, and these include the right of summons, and of summons in a certain form.

The existence of the privileges of the House of Commons (for we are not here concerned with their nature and extent) is also a part of the law of the land, although the form is used of asking and receiving them by favour of the Crown ; so too is the right of adjournment exercised by both Houses, independently of one another or of the Crown, and without affecting the resumption of pending business.

*how much
is Custom:* From these rules, by which right and liabilities public and private may be affected, we must distinguish conventions and formalities which are legally immaterial. The mode of electing a Speaker could be altered at pleasure by the House of Commons : the approval of the Speaker-elect by the Queen is not seemingly a legal necessity²; the claim of privilege made by the Speaker might probably be omitted without

¹ The statutory and the practical limits to the right and power of the Crown to conduct the business of the country without a Parliament will come to be dealt with later. The statutory limits are too wide to be worth mentioning here, and the practical limits too narrow to be easily explained till I have set out the process of legislation in respect of the appropriation of supply.

² Sir E. May cites three cases of Speakers who acted as such without the royal approval ; they occurred in the Convention Parliament which restored Charles II, in that which elected William III and Mary, and on one occasion during the insanity of George III in 1789.

affecting the recognition of parliamentary privilege by the Courts of law; and the practice of laying before the Houses certain topics in a speech from the Throne, and of replying to this speech by addresses from both Houses, is seemingly a non-essential form. The Houses are not limited to the topics set forth in the speech, and the Commons read a bill for a first time before considering the speech in order to show their independence of it.

CHAPTER V.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

We have dealt so far with the mode in which a Parliament is brought into existence, its business set in motion, its session terminated by a prorogation, or its existence by a dissolution. We are now in a position to deal in detail with the various elements of which a Parliament is composed, with the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons. It is convenient to reverse the order of these in inquiring into the law respecting them, for the Commons, though not the most ancient, are the most important part of the Legislature, and the most complex, for we have to consider not only who may be members of the House of Commons and what are their privileges as such, but who may vote and in what manner for members of that House.

This part of the subject then resolves itself into four topics : (1) who may be chosen for the House of Commons ; (2) who may choose ; (3) how they may choose ; (4) what are the special privileges possessed by the House of Commons collectively, or by its members individually.

SECTION I.

WHO MAY BE CHOSEN.

Disqualifications for House of Commons. First, then, we must consider who may be chosen to serve in the House of Commons, or rather who are disqualified for membership by some incapacity, whether inherent, as in the

case of an infant or lunatic, or acquired by profession or office, or incurred by felony, bankruptcy, or corruption.

§ 1. Infants are disqualified by the law of Parliament according to Sir Edward Coke, but their presence in the House was occasionally connived at¹, and the disqualification was made statutory by 7 & 8 Will. III, c. 25, s. 7. It was applied to the Scotch members by the Act of Union with Scotland, and to members returned for Irish constituencies by 4 Geo. IV, c. 55, s. 74.

There have been cases since the passing of 7 & 8 Will. III, c. 25, in which a minor has been elected and has taken his seat without objection. Charles James Fox was returned, took his seat, and spoke while yet under age, and Lord John Russell was returned a month before attaining his majority. But there are no instances of such an infringement of the law since the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832.

§ 2. Lunacy or idiocy is a disqualification at Common Law, Unsoundness of mind if the House is satisfied that the mind of a member is ^{of} mind. incurably unsound, it will declare his seat vacant, and direct the Speaker to issue a new writ.

The history of the law on this subject may be collected from the report² of a Committee appointed to inquire into the case of Mr. Alcock in 1811.

Cases were not unusual, in times when a seat in the Commons was not so much an object of ambition as it now is, of members asking the House to relieve them of their duties on the ground of sickness or other infirmity. A further reason for such requests in the case of ill-health would seem to be that office was not a disqualification before the beginning of the eighteenth century, and consequently a member could not vacate his seat by accepting the Chiltern Hundreds³. But

¹ 1 Com. Journ. 681.

² 66 Com. Journ. 687.

³ In 1604 the borough of Dorchester petitioned that one of its members, Matthew Chubbe, might be relieved from his duties on the ground of bodily infirmity. The burgesses acknowledge that Mr. Chubbe did at the time of his election 'intreat us that he might be spared therein, offeringe to some other to be chosen five pounds towards his charges to serve therein.' They beg that

Insanity. the House would not declare a seat vacant on such grounds, unless it was satisfied that the malady was incurable, nor will it interfere now except in such a malady as insanity, which would make the request and acceptance of the Chiltern Hundreds impossible.

In the case of Mr. Alcock his constituents petitioned¹ the House complaining that the insanity of their member deprived them of his services. He had been found a lunatic upon commission, and was in confinement. A committee was appointed, which, after taking evidence and searching for precedents, reported that his case was not so hopeless of cure as to justify the House in declaring the seat vacant.

A more recent case is that of Mr. Stewart, where attention was called, as a matter of privilege, to the fact that he had attended the House and voted in a division while under medical treatment for insanity as a certified lunatic. Mr. Roebuck moved for a committee to inquire into the circumstances of the case, but the motion was rejected².

From these cases it would seem that the disqualification of a member on the ground of insanity can be brought before the House in two ways: by petition from the constituency which is deprived of the services of its member if the member is in confinement: or by a question of Privilege being raised if a person certified to be of unsound mind should take part in the business of the House.

The House alone can take action in the matter by declaring the seat vacant, and the case of Mr. Alcock illustrates the extreme reluctance which is felt to such action being taken.

Aliens. 3. Aliens are incapable of sitting in Parliament both by common law and by statute.

Previous to the year 1700 an alien could acquire capacity for election by becoming naturalised; but 12 & 13 Will. III, c. 2 disqualifies all persons born out of the king's dominions, even

'he may not seem contemptuous by his absence, that it will please you to dismiss the saide Chubbe and to graunt a writ for the election of another.'

It does not appear that this petition was granted.

¹ 66 Com. Journ. 226.

² Hansard, vol. 162, p. 1941.

though naturalised or made denizens, unless they had been born Aliens. of English parents. 33 & 34 Vict. c. 14, s. 2, excepts political capacity (together with the right to own the whole or any part of a British ship) from the general concession which it makes to aliens of equal rights with natural born British subjects. But the same Act (s. 7) enables an alien to acquire by naturalisation the political rights and obligations of a British subject, and thus to qualify for Parliament.

§ 4. A peerage is a disqualification. An English peer may Peers. not be a member of the House of Commons, nor may a Scotch peer, even though he be not one of the representative peers of Scotland.

But an Irish peer may sit for any county or borough of Great Britain so long as he is not one of the twenty-eight ^{39 & 40} representatives of the Irish peerage in the House of Lords. ^{Geo. III,} ^{c. 67, art. 4.}

§ 5. Clergy of the Established Church and ministers of the Clergy. Church of Scotland are disqualified by 41 Geo. III, c. 63, and clergy of the Roman Catholic Church by 10 Geo. IV, c. 7, s. 9, (the Roman Catholic Relief Act).

Until 1801 the capacity of the clergy to be elected to Parliament was a matter of doubt. In that year the question was raised by the election of the Rev. J. Horne Tooke for the borough of Old Sarum. On inquiry it seemed that the authorities were not clear¹: as lately as 1785 a committee of the House had decided in favour of the eligibility of a person in deacon's orders. At any rate, the House considered the matter so doubtful that elections already made were excepted from the operation of the Act, and Mr. Horne Tooke was allowed to retain his seat.

33 & 34 Vict. c. 91 makes it possible for the clergy of the Church of England, whether priests or deacons, to divest themselves of their orders, and thereby to free themselves from this disqualification. ^{41 Geo. III,} ^{c. 63.} ^{Unless di-vested of orders.}

§ 6. Office of various kinds is a disqualification at common Office. law or by statute.

Sheriffs Sheriffs appear to have been excluded generally by the terms of the old form of writ, which directs that 'neither you nor any other sheriff of our said kingdom be in anywise elected.' But the restriction was in practice confined to the county for which the sheriff held office, so that the sheriff of Hampshire was held eligible to sit for the borough of Southampton, which was a county of itself; it was extended by a resolution of the House, passed in the case of the borough of Thetford¹, so as to exclude any officer of a borough to whom the writ or precept might be directed.

The disqualification of the sheriff was narrowed by 16 & 17 Vict. c. 68, s. 1, by which writs for cities and boroughs are addressed, not to the sheriff of the county in which they are situated, but directly to their returning officers, and one may say shortly that at Common Law no returning officer in England or Ireland may sit for the place where he is bidden to cause an election to be made, and that the same rule prevails in Scotland by force of a clause in the Scotch Reform Act of 1832.

Judges. The Judges of the three Common Law courts were held disqualified at common law, declared by a resolution of the House in 1605, they being 'attendants as Judges in the Upper House.' But recent legislation has taken the place of this rule.

(b) by Statute. The history of the statutory disqualifications is voluminous and intricate. They begin soon after the Revolution, when the strength and irresponsibility of the House of Commons made the Crown as anxious to obtain some influence over its members as the House was to exclude persons who held office at pleasure of the Crown.

Commissioners of Stamps and of Excise were excluded by Acts of 1694 and 1699, and in 1700 came the sweeping provision in the Act of Settlement that 'no person who has an office or a place of profit under the king shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons.'

Fortunately this clause in the Act of Settlement was repealed,

¹ 9 Com. Journ. 725.

before it could take effect, by 4 Anne c. 8. Two years later Office. was passed the statute which forms the groundwork of the present law upon the subject.

6 Anne, c. 7 (41 in revised statutes), s. 24, enacts firstly that no one shall be capable of being elected who has accepted from the Crown any *new* office created since the 25th October, 1705; secondly, that the holders of certain specified offices are incapable of election; and thirdly, it extends the incapacity to persons having pensions from the Crown during pleasure.

S. 25 enacts that the acceptance of any office of profit under the Crown by a member of the House of Commons shall avoid his election, but that he may be re-elected. This section must be construed to refer to *old* offices, otherwise it would repeal a part of s. 24.

S. 27 excepts from the operation of the statute commissions in the army and navy.

Since the Act of Anne many statutes have been passed subjecting old or new offices to the total disqualification of section 24, or the partial disqualification of section 25. I have endeavoured to summarise the disqualifying statutes, and, up to a certain point, to divide them into groups, but, inasmuch as the extent of the disqualification and not the nature of the office is the matter which it is important to have in mind, I will confine myself in the text to a general statement of the law.

(a) There are certain offices wholly incompatible with a seat in the House of Commons. (a) Offices which disqualify.

Such are *new* offices *under* the Crown within the meaning of the Act of Anne. Under this head we must include all offices under the Crown created since 1705, and not specially exempted by statute. The Legislature has not been satisfied to leave new offices to the operation of the Act of Anne, but has reimposed the disqualification in a great number of Acts of Parliament. A paid Charity Commissionership or a place on the Council of India, would afford an instance of such offices.

Such are also certain *old* offices which fall under the

25th section, and which by subsequent statutes have been made to carry with them a total instead of a partial disqualification. An instance of such an office would be the Mastership of the Rolls, or the offices about court abolished in 22Geo. III, Burke's measure of economical reform with a provision that, if c. 82. revived, they were to be regarded as *new* offices.

Such, lastly, are offices not technically *under* the Crown, but made into statutory disqualifications. Instances of such offices would be that of a fifth Under Secretary of State, when 27 & 28 Vict. c. 34. four Under Secretaries are already in the House, or a servant 12 & 13. Vict. employed by the Collector of Rates for Dublin for the purposes c. 91, s. 24. of the Act which creates the office.

(8) Offices which necessitate re-election. (8) There are certain offices the acceptance of which vacates a seat, but leaves the holder of the office re-eligible.

34 & 35. Vict. c. 70, s. 4. Such are all *old* offices, that is, offices in existence before the 25th of October, 1705, except those which have been made an absolute disqualification by subsequent statutes. And such are certain new offices created by statutes, which contain provisions that their acceptance shall vacate a seat, but that the holder is re-eligible. An instance of such a provision is to be found in the case of the President and one of the secretaries of the Local Government Board.

(γ) Offices which do not disqualify. (γ) There are certain offices the acceptance of which, though they are concerned with the administration of departments of State, does not either disqualify from sitting, or necessitate re-election.

30 & 31 Vict. c. 102. Such are offices which are not considered to be held from or under the Crown, as the office of Under Secretary of State¹.

Such, too, are the offices included in Schedule 4 of the Representation of the People Act, if taken by a person who has been returned to Parliament since his acceptance of another office in the same schedule. He may then be transferred from one to another of these offices without further re-election.

45 & 46 Vict. c. 49, s. 38. And such, too, are new offices specially freed from dis-ability by statute, as commissions in the militia.

¹ Hansard, clxxiv. 1237.

In some cases the election is simply avoided. In others Effects of
a heavy penalty is imposed in addition if the office-holder has disqualifi-
cation.
sat and voted. The law upon the subject is extremely intricate
and perplexing; it might well be reduced into the compass of
a single statute, since the principles involved are very simple,
and would lose nothing if, with the cases to which they are
applicable, they were crystallised in a code.

It may be noted that the original ground for the disqualifi- Its practi-
cation of permanent officials is no longer the actual ground. cal objects.
It is not because of any fear of the excessive influence of the
Crown in Parliament that Charity Commissioners or Permanent
Under Secretaries in the various departments of government are
rendered incapable of sitting in the House of Commons. The
need of securing the best men for the public service apart from
political considerations, the converse need of a harmony between
the head of a department and his subordinates, which could
not exist if they were habitually opposed in debate, have come
to be the acknowledged reasons for the exclusion of the various
officials whom I have enumerated in a note. But these reasons,
which make it desirable to exclude permanent members of the
Civil Service from the House of Commons, do not apply to s. 25
of the Act of Anne, which requires the re-election of the Par-
liamentary heads of departments on their acceptance of office.
The effect of this rule is now to create a needless and vexatious
delay in the conduct of public business when a new ministry
takes office, or a new member is introduced into a ministry.

§ 7. Persons who hold pensions at the pleasure of the Crown Pensions.
are disqualified by 6 Anne, c. 7 [41], s. 24. This dis-
qualification was extended by 1 Geo. I, st. 2, c. 56, to pen-
sioners of the Crown for terms of years whether held in the
name of the pensioner or by another in trust for him;
and pension is construed by 22 Geo. III, c. 82, s. 30, to
mean a grant of royal bounty repeated more than once in
three years. But civil service and diplomatic pensions are
exempted from disqualification by Acts of the last and present
reign, 32 & 33 Vict. c. 15; 32 & 33 Vict. c. 43, s. 17.

Govern-
ment con-
tracts.

§ 8. A person who directly or indirectly, himself or through the intervention of a trustee, holds or undertakes any contract or commission for or on account of the public service is incapable of being elected: if elected, the election is void, and there is a penalty of £500 imposed for every day in which a person labouring under such a disability shall sit and vote.

This disqualification is created by 22 Geo. III, c. 45; it is made applicable to contracts with the Irish government and generally to Irish members by 41 Geo. III, c. 52, but does not extend to contributions or subscriptions to government loans.

Convicted
felons.

§ 9. A person attainted or adjudged guilty of treason or felony who has not received a pardon under the great seal, or served his term of punishment is incapable of election.

Mitchel's
case.

The common law on this subject is most clearly laid down in the case of John Mitchel, who, having been sentenced to transportation after conviction of treason-felony, escaped before his sentence had expired, and was subsequently elected for Tipperary. The House of Commons declared the seat vacant, there being no petition against his election. A new writ was issued, Mitchel stood again, was elected, and upon a petition being lodged against his return, the Court held that votes given to him were thrown away, and that his opponent who claimed the seat was entitled to it.

9 I. R.
C. L. 217.

The ground on which the disqualification would seem to rest was that, as was argued by Sir John Holker in the debate in the House of Commons on the case of John Mitchel, a person convicted of treason or felony was not 'a fit and proper person' within the meaning of the old form of writ addressed to the Sheriff¹. But it had always been held that one so convicted, if he had served his term of punishment or received a pardon under the great seal was eligible, subject to some doubt as to the effect of a resolution of the House of Commons declaring him still to be ineligible. All doubts on the subject are set at rest by 33 & 34 Vict. c. 23, s. 3, providing that any person

¹ Speech of Sir John Holker (Solicitor General), Hansard, vol. 122, p. 511.

'hereafter convicted of treason or felony, for which he shall be sentenced to death, penal servitude, or any term of imprisonment with hard labour, or exceeding twelve months, shall become and (until he shall have suffered the punishment to which he shall be sentenced, or such other punishment as may by competent authority be substituted for the same, or shall receive a free pardon from Her Majesty) shall continue thenceforth incapable of being selected, or sitting, or voting as a member of either House of Parliament.'

§ 10. Bankruptcy is a disqualification for election, and should it befall a person already elected, it incapacitates him for sitting and voting. The disqualification can be removed by the annulment of adjudication in bankruptcy, or by a grant of discharge, accompanied by a certificate that the bankruptcy was not caused by misconduct.

In the case of a person already elected, his seat will fall ^{46 & 47 Vict.} c. 52, s. 32. vacant unless the disqualification be removed within six months of its occurrence.

§ 11. One who is found guilty of corrupt practices at a Parliamentary election within the meaning of ^{46 & 47 Vict. c. 51,} is for ever disqualified from sitting for the place at which his offence was committed; and is disqualified for seven years from sitting for any other place.

If the corrupt practice was the unauthorised act of an agent employed for the general purposes of the election, the employer is disqualified for seven years from sitting for the place at which the offence was committed.

§ 12. There is a form of disqualification which must be described as a religious disability, reduced in its extent from time to time but still subsisting, arising from the requirement of an oath as a preliminary to sitting and voting in the House of Commons. I have elsewhere given a summary of the principal statutes relating to this subject; p. 88. It is enough here to say that from the reign of William III to the year 1829 three oaths were required of all members, except such as might be Quakers—the oaths of allegiance,

of supremacy, of abjuration. A failure to take either of the first two was held to vacate the seat of the member so failing; a failure to take the oath of abjuration carried with it, by the statutes which imposed that oath, an incapacity to sit and vote under penalty of £500 for every time the member so failing sat in a debate or voted in a division. Quakers were held entitled to affirm instead of taking the oath, by virtue *Post, p. 88.* of various statutes passed for their benefit¹.

The form of these oaths excluded Roman Catholics, Jews, and persons who objected to taking an oath on religious grounds or were incapable of doing so for want of religious belief, unless, like the Quakers, they were permitted to affirm.

The Roman Catholic Relief Bill provided a single form of oath for Roman Catholics in substitution of the three required of Protestants, and they were thus freed from the total disability under which they had laboured.

The Jews were excluded by the terms of the oath of abjuration which concluded with the words 'on the true faith of a Christian.' These were held to be an integral part of the oath, and thus, though the refusal to take the abjuration oath did not vacate his seat, a Jew could not sit and vote except under a ruinous penalty.

To remedy this disability an Act was passed in 1858 enabling either House to dispense by resolution in individual cases with the words 'on the faith of a Christian man.' In 1860 another Act gave power to either House to make a standing order to the same effect; and the difficulty was finally settled in 1866 by an Act prescribing a single form of oath from which these words were omitted.

The form of oath has been further modified so that it may now be taken by any one who does not object to oaths on principle, who is loyal to the State and who believes in a God.

¹ Hansard, 3rd Series, vol. xv. p. 639. 'It was plain,' said the Solicitor General in support of Mr. Pease's claim to affirm, 'that the object of the Legislature was to put Quakers on a footing with all other Dissenters in England.' There was nothing in the oath to exclude a Nonconformist.

Roman
Catholics.
10 Geo. IV,
c. 7.

Jews.

Miller v.
Salomons,
8 Exch.
778.

21 & 22
Vict. c. 49.

29 & 30
Vict. c. 19.

31 & 32
Vict. c. 72.

The right to affirm instead of making oath is by the same Quakers. Acts given to Quakers, Moravians, Separatists, and every person who is by law permitted for the time being to make affirmation instead of taking an oath. But failure to take the oath or to make the affirmation (if the member so failing is entitled to affirm) carries with it the penalty which I have mentioned, and it is to the existence of this penalty and to actions brought in Courts of law to recover it, that we owe a clear knowledge of the law respecting this disability. For it must be borne in mind that a resolution of the House dealing with the interpretation of a statute does not give us the law, but the opinion of the House upon the law.

The House may by resolution allow a member to take his seat and to vote with or without affirmation or oath, and a Court of Law would not meddle with the interpretation by the House of a statute regulating its own procedure. But when the penalty is sued for in a Court of Law, that Court determines whether or no the penalty is due, and it is due if the terms of the Act imposing the penalty have not been complied with.

So in Mr. Bradlaugh's case we get the law on this subject ^{Atheists.} by means of legal decisions in actions brought against him to recover penalties for sitting and voting when he had not taken the oath, or when he had gone through the form of taking the oath, though the words which make the difference between an oath and a promise meant nothing to him.

In 1880 Mr. Bradlaugh, being duly elected for Northampton, ^{29 Vict.} desired to make an affirmation in the form and manner pro-^{c. 19.} vided by the Parliamentary Oaths Act (1866) as modified by the Promissory Oaths Act (1868). After discussions in the ^{31 & 32 Vict.} House, with which we are not here concerned, Mr. Bradlaugh was allowed to affirm, and an action was brought against him for penalties accrued by reason of his having sat and voted without taking the oath. The Queen's Bench Division and the Court of Appeal held that Mr. Bradlaugh was not entitled

¹ Hansard, 3rd Ser. vol. 113. See Debates of July 26 and 30, and Aug. 5, 1850.

^{Limits of right to affirm.} to make affirmation in lieu of the oath. His contention was that as he would have been allowed under the Evidence Amendment Acts of 1869–1870 to make a simple promise to tell the truth if he had appeared as a witness in a court of justice, on the ground that an oath was not binding on his conscience, he was a ‘person for the time being permitted to make a solemn affirmation or declaration instead of taking an oath,’ within the meaning of the Parliamentary Oaths Act 1866. But the Courts held that the words of the Act of 1866 ‘contemplate the present existence and the coming into existence of classes of persons who *on all occasions* are permitted to make a solemn declaration instead of taking an oath,’ whereas the Evidence Amendment Acts dealt merely with such occasions as might arise in courts of justice when witnesses declared themselves to attach no religious significance to the form of an oath.

^{Per Bramwell, L. J.}

^{Clarke v. Bradlaugh, 7 Q. B. D. 38.}

The House of Lords, without touching this part of the decision, held that the penalties sued for were not recoverable by a common informer; but although the plaintiff thus failed in his case we may take the decision of the Court of Appeal to be conclusive as to the limitations of the right to make affirmation instead of taking the oath.

^{Bradlaugh v. Gossett, 12 Q. B. D.}

Meantime the House had resolved that Mr. Bradlaugh, for want of religious belief, was not capable of taking the oath, and the Queen’s Bench Division refused to make a declaration to the effect that he was entitled to take it.

But a further complication arose, leading to a judicial statement of the law, which throws a somewhat startling light on the extent of the disability arising from the absence of religious belief.

^{Limits of right to be sworn.} On the 11th of February, 1884, Mr. Bradlaugh entered the House; advanced to the table without being called upon by the Speaker; read from a paper in his hand the words of the oath, and having kissed a book which he brought with him, signed the paper and left it upon the table. He subsequently voted in a division, and an action was brought against him, this time at the suit of the Crown, for the penalty which he had incurred by so voting.

The Court of Appeal has held, not merely that to take the

oath in the way in which Mr. Bradlaugh took it was not to satisfy the requirements of the Parliamentary Oaths Act, but that even if he had taken the oath in due form the penalty would be recoverable if it were afterwards proved to the satisfaction of a jury that for want of religious belief at the time of his taking the oath it had no binding effect upon him, except as a solemn promise. ‘Suppose,’ said Brett M. R., ‘nothing has ever been said by the defendant in Parliament at all; yet, if from what he has said or done outside Parliament before he was elected or after, a jury are entitled to find that when he sat and voted, *although he had gone through all the forms*, he had this state of mind, I am of opinion that the penalty will accrue, because he would not have taken an oath, and had not taken it because he could not.’

Attorney
General v.
Bradlaugh.
14 Q. B. D.,
101.

The judgment really comes to this—that there is a penalty recoverable from every member of whom a jury can be found to say that when he took the oath he had no religious belief, of £500 for every time he has sat in a debate or voted in a division. Unless, therefore, a member is prepared to prove his religious belief to the satisfaction of a jury, he practically holds his seat upon the sufferance of the legal advisers to the Crown¹.

There are certain disqualifications which have ceased to exist, but which, as part of the history of our representative system, it may be well to notice here.

Residence in their constituencies was required of the Residence. knights and burgesses who represented shires and towns by 1 Henry V, c. 1. This requirement had fallen out of use as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but the Act of Henry V, was not repealed till 1774.

14 Geo. III,
c. 58.

A property qualification was created by 9 Anne, c. 5, consisting of an estate in land which, in the case of a knight of

Property.

¹ On January 13, 1886, Mr. Bradlaugh took the oath among other members elected to the new Parliament. The Speaker announced that he should not intervene, holding that the resolutions of the former Parliament had lapsed with its dissolution; that the Speaker had no original authority to prevent a member from taking the oath; and that he should not permit (as the former Speaker had permitted) a motion to be made intervening between a member and his taking the oath—‘The hon. member takes that oath under whatever risks may attack to him in a court of law.’

the shire, must be worth £600 a year, in the case of a burgess £300 a year; and this qualification had to be affirmed upon oath, and later by declaration made by the candidate upon the request of two electors, or of a rival candidate, at any time before the day fixed in the writ of summons for the meeting of Parliament.

*21 & 22
Vict. c. 26.*

*Profession
of the law.*

*34 & 35
Vict. c. 6.*

This Act was modified by some subsequent statutes, but all the provisions relating to the qualification were repealed in 1858.

An Act of 1372 provides that 'no man of the law following business in the King's Court, nor any sheriff for the time that he is a sheriff, be returned nor accepted knight of the shire.' This statute was not repealed until 1871, though its provisions had long been forgotten.

*Resigna-
tion of a
seat impos-
sible.*

But apart from the disqualifications which I have described as avoiding an election, a member once elected can only cease to represent his constituency by reason of his death, or of the dissolution of Parliament. A seat cannot be resigned, nor can a man who has once formally taken his seat for one constituency throw it up and contest another. Either a disqualification must be incurred, or the House must declare the seat vacant; and, as we have seen, the House has not shown itself very willing to declare a seat vacant on the ground of physical incapacity, or personal unwillingness to serve.

The disability attaching to office is thus of great practical convenience. Certain old offices of nominal value in the gift of the Treasury are now granted, as of course¹, to members who wish to resign their seats in order to be quit of Parliamentary duties or to contest another constituency. These offices are the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, of the manors of East Hendred, Northstead, or Hempholme, and the escheatorship of Munster. The office is resigned as soon as it has operated to vacate the seat and sever the tie between the member and his constituents.

¹ In the eighteenth century they were refused in the interest of the Government, and presumably might be refused now if demanded for a discreditable purpose, as to avoid expulsion.

NOTE I.

OFFICIAL DISQUALIFICATIONS CREATED BY STATUTE¹.

- i. *Persons concerned with the Administration of Justice.*
 1. Judges of the High Court and Court of Appeal in England.
(38 & 39 Vict. c. 77, s. 5.)
 2. Registrars or other officers connected with any Court having jurisdiction in Bankruptcy in England. (46 & 47 Vict. c. 52, s. 116.)
 3. County Court judges in England. (25 & 26 Vict. c. 99, s. 4.)
 4. Commissioners of Metropolitan Police. (19 & 20 Vict. c. 2, s. 9.)
 5. Stipendiary magistrates for various towns are disqualified in the Acts which provide for their appointment.
 6. A Recorder for his borough in England. (45 & 46 Vict. c. 50, s. 163.)
 7. A Revising Barrister is disqualified for the county, cities, and boroughs comprised in his district. The disqualification lasts during his term of office and for eighteen months after. (6 & 7 Vict. c. 18, s. 28.)
 8. A Corrupt Practices Commissioner. (15 & 16 Vict. c. 57, s. 1.)
 9. A barrister appointed to try municipal election petitions. (45 & 46 Vict. c. 50, s. 92.)
 10. Judges of Court of Session, justiciary or baron of the Exchequer in Scotland. (7 Geo. II, c. 16, s. 4.)
 11. Sheriff depute in Scotland. (21 Geo. II, c. 19, s. 11.)
 12. Judges of the High Court and Court of Appeal in Ireland, including the Chancellor. (40 & 41 Vict. c. 57, s. 13.)
 13. Masters in Chancery in Ireland. (21 Geo. II, c. 19, s. 11; 1 & 2 Geo. IV,² c. 44, s. 1.)

¹ The following summary contains only such offices as disqualify absolutely either for certain constituencies or for all. I have not thought it necessary to set out a list of offices which entail a re-election.

² This statute disqualifies the judges of the old Common Law and Chancery Courts in Ireland, and by subsequent Acts the judges in the Irish Courts of Admiralty, Probate, and Bankruptcy were also disqualified. These provisions, except in so far as vested interests are concerned, are merged in the general disqualifying clause of the Irish Judicature Act.

14. Judge of Landed Estates Court, Ireland. (21 & 22 Vict. c. 72, s. 7.)
15. Assistant barristers in Ireland. (14 & 15 Vict. c. 57, s. 2.)
16. Justices and police officers in Dublin. (6 & 7 Will. IV, c. 29, s. 19.)
17. Magistrates and inspectors of constabulary, Ireland, appointed under the provisions of 6 & 7 Will. IV, c. 13, s. 18; 48 Geo. III, c. 140, s. 14.
18. A Recorder for his borough, in Ireland. (3 & 4 Vict. c. 108, s. 166.)
19. A member of, or person holding office under, the Irish Land Commission. (44 & 45 Vict. c. 49, s. 54.)
20. Registrar of deeds, Ireland. (2 & 3 Will. IV, c. 87, s. 36.)

ii. *Persons representing the Crown or holding Offices at Court or under the chiefs of the great Departments of State.*

1. Colonial governors and deputy governors. (6 Anne, c. 7 [41] s. 24.)
2. The governors or deputy governors of any of the settlements, presidencies, territories, or plantations of the East India Company. (10 Geo. IV, c. 62, s. 1. This Act would appear to be continued 'mutatis mutandis' by the 'Act for the better Government of India' 21 & 22 Vict. c. 106, s. 64.)
3. Members of the Council of India. (21 & 22 Vict. c. 106, s. 12.)
4. A number of court places were abolished in 1782, and it was provided that, if revived, they should be new offices within the meaning of the Act of Anne. (22 Geo. III, c. 82, §§ 1, 2.)
5. Deputies or clerks in the departments of the Treasury, Exchequer, Admiralty, of the principal Secretaries of State, and a number of other Government offices. (15 Geo. II, c. 22; 41 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 4.)
6. Fifth Under-secretary of State while there are four in the House. (21 & 22 Vict. c. 106, s. 4; 27 & 28 Vict. c. 34.)
7. Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland. (1 & 2 Will. IV, c. 33, s. 15.)

iii. Persons concerned with the Collection of Revenue, or Audit of Public Accounts.

1. Farmers, collectors, and managers of money duties or other aid. (5 Will. & Mary, c. 7, s. 59.)
2. Farmers, managers, and collectors of customs. (12 & 13 Will. III, c. 10, §§ 87, 88.)
3. Commissioners and officers of excise in England and Ireland. (7 & 8 Geo. IV, c. 53, s. 8.)
4. Auditor of the Civil List. (56 Geo. III, c. 46, s. 8.)
5. Comptroller and Auditor-general, and assistant. (29 & 30 Vict. c. 39, s. 3.)
6. Collector-General of rates for Dublin, or any officer or servant in his employment for purposes of the Act. (12 & 13 Vict. c. 91, s. 24.)

iv. Persons concerned with the Administration of Property for Public Objects.

1. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests. (14 & 15 Vict. c. 42, s. 10.)
2. The Charity Commissioners (paid), their secretary and inspectors. (16 & 17 Vict. c. 117, s. 11.)
3. The Irish Church Temporalities Commissioners. (32 & 33 Vict. c. 42, s. 9.)
4. The Land Commissioners. (4 & 5 Vict. c. 35, s. 5. The Land Commissioners now represent in respect of duties and of disabilities the Tithe Enclosure and Copyhold Commissioners. 45 & 46 Vict. c. 38, s. 48.)

v. Miscellaneous disqualifying enactments.

- 6 Anne, c. 7 [41], s. 24, includes commissioners or subcommissioners of prizes, comptrollers of the accounts of the army, agents for regiments, commissioners for wine licences and other incongruous offices.
- 57 Geo. III, c. 62 abolishes a number of Irish offices making provision for a new regulation of their duties and for the disqualification of persons holding any offices created in consequence of such regulation.

NOTE II.

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL STATUTES CONCERNING THE
PARLIAMENTARY OATH.

- Oath of supremacy required to be taken before the Lord Steward by knights and burgesses. (5 Eliz. c. 1, s. 16.)
- Oath of allegiance by the same persons in the same manner. (7 Jac. I, c. 6, s. 8.)
- Oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be taken and subscribed by Lords and Commons in Parliament. (30 Car. II, c. 1.)
- The form of these oaths altered. (1 Will. & Mary, c. 8.)
- Oath of abjuration required of Lords and Commons as a condition precedent to sitting and voting, this oath containing the words 'on the true faith of a Christian.' (13 Will. III, c. 6.)
- The form of oath altered in some respects, but the concluding words of the abjuration oath retained and penalty imposed (§ 500.) (1 Geo. I, c. 6, s. 16.)
- Forms of affirmation provided for Quakers. (8 Geo. I, c. 6, amending or embodying earlier provisions in their favour. 22 Geo. II, c. 46.)
- Oath suited to Roman Catholics provided by Roman Catholic Relief Act. (10 Geo. IV, c. 7, s. 2.)
- Quakers and Moravians allowed to affirm. (3 & 4 Will. IV, c. 49.)
- Ex-Quakers, ex-Moravians, and Separatists allowed to affirm. (1 & 2 Vict. c. 77.)
- A single oath substituted for the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration. (21 & 22 Vict. c. 48.)
- Power given to either House by resolution in case of individual members of Jewish religion to omit the words 'upon the true faith of a Christian.' (21 & 22 Vict. c. 49.)
- Power given to the House of Commons to make Standing Order to the same effect. (23 & 24 Vict. c. 63.)
- Form of oath prescribed omitting these words, and also form of affirmation to be taken by every person 'for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn affirmation or declaration instead of taking an oath.' (29 Vict. c. 19, ss. 1, 4.)
- Promissory Oaths Act shortens the previous form. (31 & 32 Vict. c. 72.)

SECTION II.

WHO MAY CHOOSE.

The right to vote for members to serve in the House of Commons is called the Franchise. The term Franchise is used indifferently for the right to vote and the qualification which confers the right. Strictly its meaning should be confined to the right, but in any case it is used in a sense quite distinct from that in which it signifies an incorporeal hereditament, and is defined by Blackstone as 'a royal privilege or branch of the Crown's prerogative subsisting in the hands of the subject'.¹ The possession of this franchise now depends, except in some few surviving instances, upon certain qualifications of property or residence, and until very recently the qualification which gave the right to choose a member for a county differed from that which gave the right to choose a member for a borough.

The link between the borough and county representation is Ancient mode of its exercise. to be found in the writ addressed to the sheriff commanding him to cause the election of two knights of his shire, together with two citizens of each city, and two burgesses of each borough, within the shire. The election took place 'in pleno comitatu,' and from the year 1406 onwards at the next meeting of the county court after the writ was received. So soon as the writ was received from the office of the Crown in Chancery, the sheriff issued his precept to the returning officers of the cities and boroughs, and announced the holding of a special county court for the purpose of the election. The towns made their election in accordance with the custom and procedure which had settled the franchise in each borough. The county court, when it met, was adjourned from day to day during such time as the poll might legally be kept open. At the close of the poll for the county election the result of that election was declared, and the knights of the

¹ Stephen's Commentaries, i. 661.

A mediæval election. shire were girt with swords in compliance with the terms of the writ. By this time the returns to the precepts had come in from the towns, the notification of their choice was made, and the formal election took place accordingly.

^{7 Hen. IV,} c. 15. By the Act of 1406 the sheriff was required to return the

writ to Chancery, and not, as heretofore, to the Parliament, and he was further required to append to the writ indentures in which the names of the persons chosen were to be written

Anno, p. 54. ‘under the seals of them that did choose them.’ These in-

^{23 Hen. VI,} c. 15. indentures ensured that the persons returned were the persons elected by the county, and were not the arbitrary choice of the

sheriff. A like precaution was taken in 1444 in respect of the towns.

So after the declaration of the poll for the county election, a certain number of the electors present set their hands and seals to the indentures containing the names of those elected, and these, fastened to the writ, were returned, together with the precepts and indentures relating to the towns, to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.

^{16 & 17 Vict.} c. 68, s. 1. Such was the form of a Parliamentary election down to 1853,

when it was enacted that the writs for cities and boroughs should be sent direct to the returning officers of those places, and should no longer pass through the hands of the sheriff.

This outline of the procedure of an election may serve to show that county and borough members were held together not merely by the interests which they had in common against the Crown and the magnates, nor by the representative character which they alike possessed, but also by the fact that they were all returned to Parliament through the same local machinery, that of the county court.

And from this procedure one may also understand how it was that, before the Reform Act of 1832, the county franchise was simple and uniform, the borough franchise complicated and various, that it was to the county elections that one looked for a genuine expression of political opinion, when the electoral rights of a large number of the boroughs had become

pieces of private property, so that a man might, by purchase or inheritance, acquire the right of returning one or more members to Parliament. But I am not here concerned with the present mode of conducting an election. It is necessary first to ascertain who may choose members to serve Parliament, or what constitutes the qualification of an elector. How the electors may choose, in what constituencies and by what process, will form matter for a separate section.

The Franchise now rests mainly, though not entirely, upon ^{The} modern ^{older} Franchise. the Act of 1884; but since this Act comprehends various older Statutes and requires to be read in connection with them, and leaves in existence various ancient and modern franchises to which it makes no reference, we must inquire what electoral rights have been, as well as what they are.

The three grounds on which a man may nowadays rest his right to vote, are Property, Occupation, Residence; that is to say, under various conditions, to be dealt with hereafter, he has a vote in respect of a tenement which he owns, which he uses, or which is his dwelling. But it is certain that when our representative system began, the right to vote was conditional upon residence: for it was coincident in the counties with the right to attend the County Court¹, and amid the obscurity which rests on the early history of the borough franchise it seems clear that whether the right to vote depended on the holding of land or on contribution to local burdens, residence was in either case required, or perhaps it might be more true to say that non-residence was not contemplated. The Act 1 Henry V, c. 1, required residence of electors as well as of members; the fact that it had fallen out of use long before it was repealed in 1774 is only an illustration of the tangled growth of our representative system before 1832. But what I have to say on this part of the subject may be conveniently divided as follows:—

¹ *Stubbs, Const. Hist.* ii. 205, as to constitution of county court.

Divisions
of subject.

1. The English county franchise,
 2. The English borough franchise,
 3. The Scotch franchise,
 4. The Irish franchise,
 5. The effect of 48 Vict. c. 3.
 6. Disqualifications and incapacities.
- } before 1884.

§ 1. English County Franchise before 1884.

The suitor
at the
County
Court.

I will take first the modifications of the county franchise before 1884. The right to vote for the representative knights of the shire was vested originally in those who were entitled to attend the county court. But when the county court had lost much of the business which gave it importance, the attendance was apt not to be representative. The next meeting of the county court might fall too soon after the receipt of the writ by the sheriff for a full meeting to be summoned, and so it might happen that the election would fall into the hands of the sheriff, or of a few interested persons or of a disorderly crowd.

8 Hen. VI, c. 7. In the year 1430 was passed the Act which determined the county franchise for 400 years, limiting its exercise to residents

The forty-
shilling
freeholder. possessing a freehold worth forty shillings a year. The sheriff was empowered to examine voters upon oath as to their qualification, and an Act of 1432 required that the freehold should be situate, and the voter resident in the county for which the vote was claimed. This last requirement fell into disuse, and was abolished by 14 George III, c. 68.

The Act of Henry VI was not, as it has been sometimes described, an aristocratic revolution. It was designed to secure orderly elections, and to impose a qualification which should exclude the casual crowd attending the county court. At any rate it does not seem to have altered the character of the representation in the mediæval Parliaments¹; the forty-shilling freeholder chose the same class of representative as the suitors at the county court had chosen. But the forty-shilling

¹ Stubbe, *Const. Hist.* iii. 111.

freehold is now only one of several property qualifications restricted to counties and to towns which are counties corporate; and the reforms of 1832 and 1867 introduced other qualifications confined to counties and depending not upon property but upon occupation.

First as to Property. The Reform Act of 1832 confined the effect of the forty-shilling freehold qualification to cases in which the property was in occupation of the voter; or where it was an estate of inheritance; or, if a life estate and not in occupation, then where it had been acquired by marriage, marriage-settlement, devise or promotion to a benefice or office.

Besides its acceptance of the ancient freehold qualification in this limited form, the Reform Act introduced four other property and non-residential qualifications into counties. These were (*a*) freehold for life not occupied, nor acquired as described, of the clear yearly value of £10; (*b*) copyhold or land held on any other tenure but freehold of the same value; (*c*) leasehold of the same value and for a term originally created for not less than sixty years; and (*d*) leasehold of £50 clear yearly value, and for a term originally created for not less than twenty years.

The Representation of the People Act of 1867 reduced the value required for the first of these three franchises to £5; the Act of 1884 leaves them alone. I will return to them presently when I come to summarise the qualifications now existing.

Next as to Occupation. Besides the property qualifications just mentioned, the Reform Act created an Occupation franchise in counties for the occupier 'as tenant of any lands or tenements for which he should be liable to the clear yearly rent of £50.'

Alongside of this was created a new occupation franchise in counties by the Act of 1867. This depended not upon rental but upon rating, and the qualifying land or tenement had to be of the rateable value of £12. The holding must have been rated, and the occupier must have paid his rates.

Such was the county franchise before the Act of 1884.

§ 2. *English Borough Franchise before 1884.*

Qualifications in
boroughs
before
1832.

The condition of the borough franchise before 1832 exhibits a curious medley of political rights. For the boroughs were left free from all legislative interference as to the mode in which they should elect their representatives: all that was required was that the persons returned should be the persons really chosen, and that they should be fully empowered to bind their constituents. To this end an Act of 1444 required that the return made by the mayor, or bailiff of the borough, or the sheriff's precept, should be accompanied with indentures similar to those which accompanied the return of the county members, made under the seals of those that chose the member. As the boroughs were thus left to choose their own mode of returning, the result was, as one would naturally expect, a great variety of customs, amid which it is not easy to frame any certain or uniform scheme of electoral rights. Nevertheless, though divided in themselves, and combined with one another in various ways, four sorts of franchise appear distinct in character if not in origin.

The first of these was based on tenure. This was probably the most ancient, and in most cases represented the right of a member of the township, as evidenced by the holding of lands to take part in the management of the affairs of the community.

The second was dependent on residence, in almost all cases with payment of 'Scot and Lot,' that is, contribution for local or national purposes. This would seem to give a certain share of the land-owning qualification to those who share of the burdens of the community.

The third was hereditative, and seems to connect political rights with the assignment of the franchise to the holder of land either exclusively or jointly with his wife or children. The husband, by his admission into the corporation, acquired rights but did not incur

the obligations laid upon land, nor contribute in his character of freeman to the local charges.

The fourth qualification was corporate office, a narrower form of the right arising from incorporation. This was the latest of the qualifications, and it vested in the official member of the chartered town the right to return representatives to Parliament. It will be found that in all the cases in which the franchise was thus limited, the town in question was either chartered or summoned in the reigns of the Tudors, or the limitation fixed by a resolution of the House of Commons, subsequent to the Restoration, based upon an interpretation of the charter. In the case of such a resolution, the inhabitants sometimes urgently contested the right with the corporation, as in the case of Bath, Malmesbury, and Salisbury¹. Sometimes, as in the case of Wilton and Winchester, they acquiesced without a struggle.

But each of these kinds of qualification admitted of many varieties. The qualification by tenure in some towns, which were also counties, as Nottingham and Bristol, was the forty shilling freehold, in others it was land held on burgage tenure; in some cases it was limited to particular tenements, as at Richmond, where they only might vote who held burgage tenements carrying with them the right to have pasture on a certain common field. At Cricklade the qualification was not only freehold, but copyhold of lands held within the borough; or leasehold of a term of not less than three years. At Clitheroe, the franchise was in the *owners* of burgage tenements though non-resident; but if they did not choose to exercise their rights, then the *occupiers* of the tenements became entitled to vote.

The qualification by residence extended, at Preston, to all the inhabitants; at Taunton to those who had a parochial settlement and were self-supporting, the 'potwallers' who boiled their own pot: in a great majority of cases it was a necessary feature of the qualification that the voter should be

¹ I have taken these and the following facts as to particular boroughs from Oldfield's history of representative government, checking his statements by reference to the Commons' Journals.

a householder and contribute to local rates and taxes, 'scot and lot'; but it would seem that in some cases the contribution to local burdens, coupled with residence, might give a vote to one who was not a householder.

Varieties
in qualifi-
cation of
freeman.

The qualification of the freeman might be acquired in various ways,—by birth, by marriage with the daughter or widow of a freeman, by apprenticeship or servitude, by purchase, or by gift. The mode of acquisition was different in different towns, and where it lay in the power of the Corporation to give the freedom to whom it pleased, the creation of freemen for election purposes was unlimited¹. In some boroughs the freemen were required to be resident in order to obtain the franchise; in others they were scattered over the country. In the first case they were usually corruptible on the spot, in the second the cost of carriage was added to the cost of the vote.

Where the right to return members lay with the officers of the Corporation, the constituency would depend on the composition of the Governing Body created by the charter.

Com-
plexity of
borough
franchise.

From what has been said it will be seen that neither the condition of the borough franchise in the middle ages, nor the mode of its exercise, is very easy to determine. When the House of Commons began to determine disputed returns, we get such knowledge of the franchise in the seventeenth century as makes it clear that it could never have been uniform; and such accounts as we have of mediæval elections² seem to show that the whole body of electors not unfrequently entrusted the choice of their representative to a committee, sometimes consisting of the municipal officers, sometimes selected from them or from the whole electorate, or from both.

As we approach the time when political interest grows stronger, and a seat in Parliament becomes a thing to be desired, we find three influences acting upon the condition of the franchise, all tending indirectly to narrow, to confuse, and to corrupt the right of voting in the towns.

¹ Municipal Corporations Commissioners' Report, i. 35.

² Stubbs, Const. Hist. iii. 415-419.

First, we may put the increase of incorporation granted to towns from the time of Henry VI onward. From this period the object of such charters was not so much to confer new privileges as to define the rights of the townsmen *inter se*, and to organise the corporate government. The process by which the merchant guild of a town became identified with the older town community is part of municipal history with which we are not here concerned, except in so far as the Parliamentary franchise came thereby to be vested, either exclusively or jointly with other voters, in the freemen of a corporate town.

But it is to this influence that we must attribute the acquisition by the official members of the corporation of the exclusive right to elect the representatives of the borough. In some cases this was directly conferred by charter, in others it was assumed by the governing body of the corporation, but here too the claim was rested upon the charter and admitted by committees of the House of Commons.

Next, we must put the grant, either by summons or by charter followed by summons, of the right of representation to towns which were never meant to represent anything but the influence of the crown in Parliament. Thus, at the commencement of the Tudor additions to the representation, six Cornish boroughs returned twelve members, at their conclusion twenty-one Cornish boroughs returned forty-two members. In the majority of these towns the franchise was vested in the corporation, and they would indirectly affect the condition of the franchise elsewhere, in so far as they would offer analogies and precedents for other cases in which rights of election were in issue, to election committees of the House of Commons; and such precedents would operate with the more force, because some of those who judged of the returns themselves owed their seats to this corrupt and restricted franchise.

And this brings me to the third influence exercised upon

of decisions of House of Commons. elections by the decision of disputed returns in election committees of the House of Commons. The history of this privilege

See post, p. 150. of the House and the mode of its exercise are described elsewhere; and here we need only note the effect upon electoral

rights, in the different boroughs where they were called in question, of decisions formed by a body unsuited for judicial work, often animated by partisan or personal feelings, and inclined from self-interest to narrow the franchise. When once they had declared an election to be invalid on the ground that the votes of a particular class of voters had been accepted or rejected, the right of that class was settled and the custom of

^{2 Geo. II,} _{c. 24, s. 4.} the borough fixed; and in 1729 it was enacted that 'the last determination in the House of Commons' should settle the

legality of votes. It is not necessary, nor would it be desirable here, to discuss the merits and demerits of the borough franchise such as it had become by the year 1832. It had developed absolutely free from legislative interference. Except in the case of boroughs which had been convicted of notorious corruption, and whose right to return representatives had been extended by Act of Parliament to the freeholders of the adjacent hundreds, custom and common law, interpreted by the resolutions of Parliamentary committees, alone determined the right to vote.

That the representation was inadequate and corrupt there can be no doubt. When the qualification depended on tenure it would often happen that the qualifying tenements were very few in proportion to the population, or sometimes that the population had entirely disappeared, leaving the constituency to consist in the owner or owners of a few plots of land. Where the qualification was residence, or freedom, bribery was largely practised, and, where the freedom was in the gift of the corporation, freemen were created in great numbers to turn an election. It is hardly necessary to note the illusory character of a franchise vested in the officials of a corporation; one can only wonder that the mere absurdity of the representation of a town like Bath by members chosen by

a body of twenty-four officials of the corporation should not have condemned a system which in the unchecked growth of centuries had assumed a form so grotesque.

The Reform Act of 1832 made a clean sweep of these Reform anomalies. It preserved all individual electoral rights vested at the date of the passing of the Act: but beyond this it abolished the old franchises with two exceptions. It re-^{Act, 1832.} tained the forty-shilling freehold qualification in towns which were counties, subject to the limitations imposed on the like qualification in counties. It further retained the qualification by reason of being a freeman of a chartered town in those towns wherein the qualification had heretofore prevailed, but it limited the modes of acquiring freedom, for this purpose, to birth and servitude, and made residence in or within seven miles of the city or borough a part of the qualification.

Apart from these survivals of the old qualifications, the right to vote in cities and boroughs was made to rest uniformly upon *Occupation*. By s. 27 a qualification is given to the occupier, as owner or tenant, of any house, warehouse, counting house, shop, or other building which either separately or ^{s. 2 & 3} jointly with other land occupied by him in the same city or ^{Will. IV,} borough is of the clear yearly value of £10. The occupier ^{c. 45, s. 27.} must have been rated in respect of his tenement, must have paid his rates, and must have resided, during six months before his registration as a voter, in or within seven miles of the place for which he claims to vote. By an Act of 1878 the ^{41 & 42} qualification extends to any *part* of a house separately occupied ^{Vict. c. 26,} ^{s. 5.} under the above conditions.

Such was the borough franchise from 1832 to 1867. The Representation of the People Act introduced the Household and the Lodger franchise.

To be entitled to the Household franchise a man must ^{Residence.} occupy as owner or tenant, for twelve calendar months before

The house-holder. the 31st of July in the year in which he claims to be registered, a dwelling-house in the borough. He must have been rated to the poor-rate, and have paid by the 20th of July so much rate as had accrued up to the preceding 5th of January.

There are two points here to be noted, and it is important to note them, because the Act of 1884 has not altered but has only extended this franchise.

Definition of dwelling-house. (a) The word 'dwelling-house' was defined in the Act of 1867 as any part of a house occupied as a separate dwelling and *separately rated to the relief of the poor*. The definition

^{41 & 42} Vict. c. 26. has been altered by an Act of 1878 in such a way as not to include separate rating as part of the qualification. An obvious difficulty arises, and one which courts of law have acknowledged to be almost insuperable, in distinguishing the householder from the lodger. The householder's tenement must be rateable though it need not be separately rated, and rates must be paid in respect of it, but, as will be seen, such rates need not be paid by the householder. If he occupies

Bradley v. Baylis. 8 Q. B. D. 219. a part of a house, not separately rated, he must be deemed a householder or a lodger according to his relations with the owner of the entire building.

Requirements as to payment of rates. (b) The Act of 1867 required not merely that the dwelling house should be rated but that the occupier should be rated and should pay the rates. In fact the Act intended the household franchise to depend upon the personal payment of rates by the voter, thereby preventing it from being obtained where the practice of compounding prevailed. 'Compounding' meant that the owner was rated in lieu of the occupier and made his own terms with the overseer and the occupying tenant.

^{32 & 33} Vict. c. 41. s. 3. s. 4. ss. 7, 8. But the Poor-rate Assessment and Collection Act 1869, provides that (1) an owner may agree, in certain cases, with the overseers, or (2) may be compelled by the vestry to be rated instead of the occupier, or (3) may make his own terms with the tenant as to paying the rates, and in no case is the tenant to lose his vote by means of such a transaction between his

landlord and the overseers or between his landlord and himself. The overseer is bound to enter on the rate-book every occupier of rateable premises, and the occupier is not to lose his vote by reason of an omission to do this on the part of the overseer. These provisions, 'ex abundanti cautela,' are made of general application by 41 and 42 Vict. c. 26, s. 14. Such was and is the Household, or as it is more commonly called the 'Inhabitant occupier' franchise.

The Lodger franchise was given by the Act of 1867 to one The lodger, who has resided in the same lodgings as a sole tenant for twelve months next preceding the 31st of July in the year in which he claims to be registered, such lodgings being of the clear yearly value unfurnished of £10. By the Act of 1878 ^{41 & 42} Vict. c. 26, s. 6, the lodger may during his period of residence have occupied different lodgings in the same house without invalidating his vote, and may be a joint occupier with another if the total rent is equivalent to £10 apiece.

§ 3. *The Scotch Franchise before 1884.*

Until the year 1832 the Scotch representative system was in a condition even more strange and anomalous than the English. The county qualification was twofold, (1) a 'forty shilling land of old extent' held of the Crown ; or (2), if not of old extent, then rated in valuation books at £400 of valued rent.

The qualification was thus a purely freehold qualification under conditions more exacting than were required of the English freeholder.

The boroughs elected their representative on a still less popular in franchise. Those entitled to be represented were the sixty-six royal burghs, of which Edinburgh alone had a member to itself. The others were divided into fifteen groups, of which each group was entitled to a member. On the occasion of an election the sheriff gave notice to the town council of each burgh ; they each elected a delegate ; the delegates met in their respective groups, and so elected the representatives of the burghs.

^{2 & 3 Will.} IV, c. 65. The Act of 1832 altered the distribution of seats and swept away the old franchises except in so far as individual vested interests were affected. It created property and occupation franchises in counties, and an occupation franchise in boroughs, following the model of the English franchises of that nature both in character and amount, except in so far as Scotch property law compelled differences of detail.

^{31 & 32 Vict.} c. 48. In like manner did the Act of 1868 reduce the property and occupation franchise in counties and introduce the household and lodger franchise in boroughs, leaving existing borough franchises intact.

§ 4. *The Irish Franchise before 1884.*

The Irish borough and county franchise before the Reform Bill exhibited much the same features as the English representative system. But in the year in which the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was passed a disfranchising bill also became law, by which no freeholder was entitled to vote for a county unless he had an estate of £10 a year.

^{2 & 3 Will.} IV, c. 88. The Act of 1832 swept away the old borough qualification except, as in England, in certain cases of freemen, and of freeholders in towns which were counties, and introduced the occupation qualification and extended the qualification in counties to leaseholders and copyholders: this last a somewhat idle boon, since there is no copyhold in Ireland.

^{13 & 14 Vict.} c. 69. The franchise was further extended by an Act of 1850 to £12 occupiers and £5 freeholders in counties, and to £8 occupiers in towns. It was further extended in 1868, but, though the lodger qualification was then introduced as in England and Scotland, the household qualification was only reduced from £8 to £4.

§ 5. *The Representation of the People Act, 1884.*

We are now in a position to consider the Act of 1884. It has been necessary to go through the details of some of the franchises created by previous Acts, because the Act of 1884

retains them, and they form a part of it. It must be borne Effect of
in mind that the Act of 1884, though it has simplified the 48 Vict.
franchise, has not simplified the law relating to the franchise ;
the rules relating to electoral rights must still be sought in
the clauses of various statutes, some of which are left in exist-
ence, and must be read into the Act, while others are repealed
and their provisions embodied in it.

But we can now set forth our electoral law for England,
Scotland, and Ireland as uniform, with some few exceptions,
in town and county, throughout the three kingdoms.

It will be simplest to group the existing franchises under
the three great aspects of qualification—Property, Occupation,
Residence—and to point out in each case the statutory
authority for the qualification. I think it well to keep these
three kinds of qualification apart, for the difference between
Occupation and Residence is a real difference : but it is com-
mon to describe the last two under the term Occupation,
distinguishing three sorts of voters as comprised under this
term, the *occupier*, the *inhabitant occupier*, and the *lodger*.

Property.

Property qualifications are the great exception to the uni-
formity created by the Act. They are limited in all cases to
counties, and, in England, to towns which are counties. They
are untouched by the Act of 1884, except in respect of the
multiplication of votes by fictitious qualifications. They are
therefore more various throughout the three kingdoms than
are the qualifications by Occupation and Residence.

They are as follows.

In England :—

Freehold, of forty shillings clear yearly value, if an estate of 8 Hen. VI,
inheritance, or in occupation, or acquired by marriage settle- c. 7.
ment, devise, benefice or office. 2 & 3 Will.
IV, c. 45.
s. 18.

Freehold, of £5 clear yearly value, if an estate for life, not 30 & 31
in occupation or acquired as above described. Vict.

Copyhold, or any tenure other than freehold, of £5 clear 30 & 31
yearly value. Vict.
c. 102, s. 5.

^{30 & 31} *Leasehold*; (1) of £5 clear yearly value, if originally created Vict. c. 102, s. 5, for a term of not less than sixty years; (2) of £50 clear yearly ^{2 & 3 Will.} value, if originally created for a term of not less than twenty IV, c. 45, s. 20. years.

A sub-lessee or assignee of leasehold of this value is entitled to vote if in occupation. *Chorlton v. Stretford.* L. R. 7 C. P. 201.

In Scotland :—

^{31 & 32} *Lands and heritages in proprietorship* of £5 yearly value as Vict. c. 48, s. 5, appearing in the valuation roll.

Leasehold of £10 clear yearly value if for life or originally created for a term of fifty-seven years; of £50 clear yearly value if originally created for a term of not less than nineteen years.

In Ireland :—

^{13 & 14} *Vict.* ^{c. 69, s. 2.} *Freehold* of £5 net annual value.

^{35 Geo. III} (^{Irish Act,}) *Rentcharges* (subject to the provisions of 48 Vict. c. 3, s. 4) c. 29, ss. 25, 30. and *leases for life or lives* of £20 clear annual value.

Leasehold of £10 clear annual value if created originally for a term of sixty years; of £20 clear annual value if originally created for a term of fourteen years.

Occupation.

^{48 Vict.} ^{c. 3, s. 5.} Qualification uniform in value. Throughout the United Kingdom there is a uniform qualification given to the occupier for twelve months before registration—in England, Ireland, and in Scotch burghs, as owner or tenant, in Scotch counties as tenant, of lands or tenements within the county or borough of the value of £10.

These qualifications differ in three ways.

Difference in mode of assessing value, (1) As to the mode of ascertaining the value of the qualifying tenement, it is—

In England, clear yearly value;

In Scotland, annual value as *per* valuation roll;

In Ireland, net annual value as *per* last poor-rate.

in requirements of residence; (2) As to residence required of the occupier:— In English and Scotch counties, and in Irish counties and boroughs, none is required.

In English boroughs residence during six months of the qualifying year in or within seven miles of the borough.

In Scotch boroughs residence during the whole of the qualifying year, in or within seven miles of the borough.

(3) As to rating and payment of rates and taxes:— and of rate-paying.

In England the county and borough occupier must alike have been rated to the poor-rate, and must have paid, by the 20th of July in the year of his claim to vote, all such rates as were due on the preceding 5th of January.

The borough occupier must further have paid all assessed taxes due from him up to that date.

In Scotland the *county* occupier must have paid by the 20th of June in the year of his claim all poor-rates due from him up to the 15th of May: the *borough* occupier must have paid by the 20th of July all assessed taxes due from him up to the 6th of July.

In Ireland the county and borough occupier must alike have been rated to the poor-rate, and must have paid by the 1st of July in the year of his claim all rates due up to the 1st of January.

The English occupation franchise depends, as to *value*, on Statutory authorities. 48 Vict. c. 3, s. 5: as to *conditions*, in counties, on 30 & 31 Vict. c. 102, s. 6; in boroughs, on 2 & 3 Will. IV, c. 45.

The Scotch depends, as to *value*, on 48 Vict. c. 3, s. 5: as to *conditions*, in counties, on 31 & 32 Vict. c. 48, s. 6; in burghs, on 2 & 3 Will. IV, c. 65, s. 11.

The Irish depends, as to *value*, on 48 Vict. c. 3, s. 5: as to *conditions*, on 13 & 14 Vict. c. 69, ss. 1, 5.

Residence.

The Household qualification is now uniform throughout the United Kingdom, and is given to the *inhabitant*¹ occupier¹ holder.

¹ Actual inhabitancy during every part of the year is not necessary, but there must be an intention of returning after a temporary absence, and the power of returning at any time without breach of legal obligations. See Judgments given on November 5, 1885, in Q. B. D.

(whether he occupies as owner, as tenant, or in virtue of any office, service or employment) of a dwelling-house or any part of a house occupied as a separate dwelling which has been rated, and for which rates have been paid by certain dates in the year of claim, which dates differ in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

^{30 & 31}
Vict.
^{c. 102, s. 3.} The creation of the household franchise dates from the Act of 1867, which applied it to English boroughs, and ^{31 & 32}
Vict.
^{c. 48, s. 3.} the Act of 1868 which applied it to Scotch boroughs. Its extension to counties in Scotland and England, to counties and boroughs in Ireland, and its application to dwellings occupied in virtue of any office, service, or employment was the work of the Act of 1884. But the qualification in this last case depends upon the house not being inhabited by the employer of the person claiming to vote.

^{32 & 33}
Vict. c. 41. The provisions as to rating are complicated. The Act of 1867 made the franchise depend on the personal payment of rates. The Poor-rate Assessment and Collection Act of 1869 altered the law in the mode described on a preceding page. Its provisions were extended by the Registration Act of 1878; it ^{s. 14.}
^{41 & 42}
Vict. c. 26, and were made applicable to Ireland by the Act of 1884; it is made the duty of the overseers throughout the United Kingdom to ascertain with respect to every dwelling-house who is entitled to vote in respect of it.

^{30 & 31}
The Lodger.
Vict.
^{c. 102, s. 4.} The Lodger qualification is also uniform throughout the United Kingdom, and is given to every occupier, as lodger, of lodgings of the clear yearly value, if let unfurnished, of £10 for twelve months before a certain date in his year of claim, which date differs in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The lodger is not disqualified, in England and Ireland at least, because he has occupied different lodgings of the requisite value in the same house, nor because he occupies them jointly with another lodger if the aggregate value is sufficient. The lodger franchise was created for English boroughs by the ^{31 & 32}
Vict.
^{cc. 48, 49.} Act of 1867, for Scotch and Irish boroughs by the Act of 1868, and for counties in England, Scotland, and Ireland ^{48 Vict.}
^{c. 3, s. 2.} in 1884.

There still exist two ancient franchises reserved by the successive Reform Acts of the century : the 40s. freehold qualification in towns which are counties subject to the rules laid down in § 18 of the Reform Act ; the qualification as burgess or freeman in those towns in which, prior to 1832, such a qualification gave a right to vote. But the Reform Act of 1832 imposed restrictions as to residence and the mode of acquiring the freedom which have not been relaxed. The freeman must have acquired his freedom by birth or servitude, and must during the year preceding the date of his claim to registration have resided in or within seven miles of the borough.

In the City of London this franchise still holds, but with some variations from the above rule. It is not enough to be a freeman of the City ; in order to qualify, the voter must also be a liveryman of one of the City Companies. He may further acquire the freedom by purchase, and may reside within twenty-five miles of the place of poll.

The only qualification which remains to be noted is that which confers the right to vote for a University constituency. Members of the Convocations of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and London, the Chancellor, the Professors, the members of the University Court and General Council of Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrew's, and Aberdeen are qualified to vote for their respective Universities if of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity.

It remains to summarise the effect of recent legislation on the franchise.

Property constitutes a qualification in counties only, and in England in towns which are counties. As it is wholly untouched (except in the provisions relating to faggot votes) by the Act of 1884, the rules respecting it have to be sought in various statutes ranging from 1429 to 1884.

Occupation is now required to be of lands or tenements of a uniform value in towns and counties throughout the United

Kingdom, but the conditions of the qualification have to be sought in the previous Acts which deal with the representation of the people ; they differ in towns and counties, and the test of value is different in each of the three kingdoms.

Residence, as a householder or lodger, is now a uniform qualification in counties and boroughs throughout the United Kingdom ; the difficulties respecting these franchises consist in the ascertainment of the law respecting rating, on which the household franchise depends, and in the distinction of a householder from a lodger.

§ 6. *Incapacities and Disqualifications.*

Sex. 1. The franchise is limited in the first instance to persons of the male sex. The question of the common law disability of women to exercise the franchise arose incidentally upon the interpretation of s. 3 of the Representation of the People Act, 1867. The word 'man' is there used to describe the persons entitled to vote; the Reform Act, 1832, has used the words 'male person' for this purpose, and in the mean time an Act (13 & 14 Vict. c. 21) had provided that 'in all Acts words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females unless the contrary is expressly provided.' But the Court of Common Pleas held firstly that since the Acts of 1832 and 1867 were to be read together, the words used in the Act of 1832 amounted to an express provision that 'man' did not include 'woman' in the Act of 1867; and secondly that the qualification was conditional on the absence Chorlton ^{c.} of legal incapacity, and that women were at Common Law Linga, L.R. incapable of exercising the Parliamentary franchise. 4, C.P. 374.

Age. 2. Infancy, whether or no it be a disqualification at Common Law, is made a disqualification by 7 & 8 Will. III, c. 25, s. 7, and by subsequent Acts extending the franchise to persons who were not capable of exercising it when that Act was passed.

Peerage. 3. No Peer other than a Peer of Ireland who has been actu-

ally elected and is serving as a member of the House of Commons has a right to vote. This disability appears to rest upon usage, upon repeated resolutions of the House of Commons, which though they could not make the law must be regarded as high authority on the rules of electoral law, and finally upon the decision of the Court of Common Pleas in 1872 upon the appeal of Earl Beauchamp against the overseers of Madresfield. ‘Upon the authorities as well as upon principle,’ said Bovill C. J., ‘I am clearly of opinion that a peer of Parliament has no right to vote in the election of members L. R. 8, C. P. 25². of the House of Commons.’

4. Returning officers are not entitled to vote unless the Returning Officer. votes for two candidates should be equal, in which case the 35 & 36 Vict. c. 32. returning officer has a casting vote. s. 2.

5. Employment of certain kinds is a disqualification. And Employ-
the sorts of employment which disqualify may be classified as ment.
employment under Government, and employment for the purposes of an election.

The old restrictions imposed on revenue, excise, and stamp Under Govern-
officers have been swept away, but there are still a numerous ment.
class of officials, chiefly those connected with the police, who 37 & 38 Vict. c. 22. are disqualified by various statutes from voting¹.

An agent, canvasser, clerk, messenger, or person in any sort At elec-
of employment for purposes of an election, may not vote: his tions.
vote may be struck off on a scrutiny, and the voter commits 35 & 36 Vict. c. 33. a misdemeanour. This disqualification is created by the s. 25.
Representation of the People Acts of 1867 and 1868.

In Scotland the assessors of burghs and counties, a part of 19 & 20 Vict. c. 58,
whose duties it is to attend to the registration of voters, are s. 8.
disqualified from voting for the constituency in which they 24 & 25 Vict. c. 83,
are so employed. s. 13.

6. An alien is disqualified from voting by the rules of Aliens.
Common Law; and from the rights conferred upon them by
the Naturalisation Act of 1870 are expressly excepted the 33 & 34 Vict. c. 14.

¹ Rogers on Elections (ed. 4), vol. i. pp. 122-124.

right to qualify, unless naturalised, for any office, or parliamentary or municipal franchise.

Mental unsoundness. 7. The right of a person of unsound mind to vote must depend upon the kind and degree of his mental infirmity. An idiot would unquestionably be disqualified; a lunatic, if so found upon commission, would probably be held to be disqualified; the question has not arisen, and the cases decided appear to relate to persons of known unsoundness of mind who were nevertheless not regarded as wholly incapable of other business. Their votes were allowed¹.

Conviction of felony: 8. Conviction of treason or felony is a disqualification, unless either the term of punishment has been served or a free pardon has been obtained. Corrupt practices at a Parliamentary election are but a misdemeanour (except in the case of personation, which is felony), but a conviction for corrupt practices disqualifies the offender for seven years for voting at any election. A candidate or agent guilty of certain illegal payments, or hirings not amounting to corrupt practices, is disqualified for that place for five years.

Alms. 9. No one is entitled to be registered as a voter who has been within the twelve months next preceding the last day of July in each year in receipt of parochial relief or other alms such as 'by the law of Parliament now disqualify from voting.' But this disqualification does not now extend to parochial relief given in the form of medical or surgical assistance.

It is not easy to determine what alms, other than parochial relief, disqualify; but it seems safe to say, on the authority of **2 C. P. D.** *Harrison v. Carter*, that it is not the character of the alms or the position of the person distributing them, but the condition of the voter who receives them, which determines the right to vote. Where alms are given to persons who would, but for the receipt of such alms, come upon the parish, it is obvious 'that persons in that position are just the persons who are most likely to be susceptible of manipulation for a purpose which the legislature has always been anxious to discourage, and

¹ See cases collected in Rogers on elections, ed. 14, vol. i. pp. 118, 119.

peculiarly open to a temptation from which this enactment was meant to shield them.'

It will be obvious from the description which has been given Fagot of the Property qualification in counties that it would be possible to multiply votes by the creation of a great number of small freeholds, each worth forty shillings a year. The practice was met by Acts passed early in the eighteenth century, by which the splitting of interests in houses and land, with a view to the multiplication of votes for election purposes was forbidden, and conveyances made with such intent were declared void. But the fraudulent intention was made the ground of avoidance, and the Act was held to extend only to conveyances not intended to give any real interest, made for the purpose of a particular election, and with an understanding that the property should be reconveyed when the transaction had served its turn. The legislation of 1832 dealt with such fictitious qualifications in two ways. First, by requiring in the case of all qualifications that the voter should have possessed for twelve months before the date of registration, and next by limiting, in the mode described above, the conditions under which the forty shilling freehold should constitute a qualification.

Still, so long as a rent charge or a joint tenancy gave the franchise, it was easy for a landowner to multiply estates of inheritance such as would confer votes without materially inconveniencing himself in the enjoyment of his property.

The Representation of the People Act, 1884, has put an end to this practice. The fourth section provides that no man shall be entitled to vote in respect of a *rent charge* except the owner of the whole of the tithe rent charge of a rectory, vicarage, or chapelry; and it provides that where two or more are owners as joint tenants, not more than one, if his interest is sufficient, shall vote, unless the joint tenancy has been acquired by 'descent, succession, marriage, marriage settlement, or will,' or where the joint tenancy is in the actual

occupation of the owner for the purpose of carrying on trade or business. Joint *Occupation*, as opposed to joint *ownership*, was dealt with as concerns counties by the Acts of 1867 and 1868, which provided that joint occupiers, if the aggregate value of the tenement sufficed, might vote to the number of two, but not more, unless the tenement had been acquired in one of the modes above described.

<sup>30 & 31
Vict.
c. 102, s. 27.</sup>

<sup>31 & 32
Vict. c. 48,
s. 14.</sup>

SECTION III.

HOW THEY MAY CHOOSE.

§ 1. *Distribution of Seats.*

First it is necessary to ascertain what are the constituencies which choose members for the House of Commons. The present distribution of seats depends upon very recent legislation, but it is necessary to indicate, however slightly, the shares of representation which different parts of the country respectively enjoyed at different periods before the Act of 1885.

<sup>48 & 49
Vict. c. 23.</sup>

To the Model Parliament of 1295 were summoned two knights from each shire, two citizens from each city, two burgesses from each borough ; and it seems clear that the sheriff directed his precept to such towns as he considered qualified within the terms of the writ.

Number of County members. The county representation underwent little alteration down to 1832, and varied only by the addition of counties previously unrepresented. In 1556 Monmouth acquired the right to send two members, and each Welsh county one. The counties palatine of Cheshire and Durham were placed on a footing with the others in respect of representation in 1543 and 1673 respectively. The Union with Scotland added thirty members for counties, out of a total addition of forty-five, and the Union with Ireland sixty-four out of a hundred.

But the number of represented boroughs fluctuated considerably during the middle ages. In the reign of Edward I 166 were summoned to return members, but the normal or average number which actually sent members appears to have been 99, of which London assumed, and by custom acquired, the right to return four.

The towns were not very anxious to return members, Causes of for the members had to be sent to Westminster or wherever fluctuation. the Parliament assembled, and maintained at the expense of their constituents¹. Again, the borough which returned members was rated higher than the county in the proportion of a tenth to a fifteenth², while the town which returned no members shared the rating of the county. And in addition to the unwillingness of the towns we must take into account the action of the sheriff, who might withhold the writ, sometimes arbitrarily, sometimes because a town had become depopulated or decayed.

Large additions to the borough representation were made during the reign of Henry VIII and onwards until the reign of Charles II. Some towns were added by royal charter; some by statute; some revived rights which had lain dormant for centuries. In the reign of James I there was a strong tendency to revive such ancient and forgotten rights of representation, and the House of Commons resolved on the 4th of

¹ The payment of their members appears to have been a common law liability of the constituencies. The knights, citizens, and burgesses took home with them their writs *de expensis levandi*, as a matter of course at the conclusion of a session. The customary charge was 4*s.* a day for a knight of the shire and 2*s.* a day for a citizen or burgess, and these charges were secured by a statute of Henry VIII, in the case of the newly enfranchised counties and 35 Hen. towns in Wales and Monmouth, repealed only in the present reign. It would seem however that as a seat in Parliament became more of an object of ambition, members ceased to ask for the payment of their expenses. The right remained in existence, and in 1681 Lord Nottingham decided in favour of a member for Harwich who sued his constituents for his wages. Lord Campbell, writing in 1846, expresses an opinion that the common law right survives, and that a member might still insist upon the wages fixed by ancient custom; but it may be doubted how far the old liability would attach to the new constituencies created by successive Reform Acts. ^{35 Hen. VIII. c. II.} ^{1846.}

² Stubbs, Const. Hist. iii. 449.

May, 1624, 'that a borough cannot forfeit this liberty of sending burgesses by non-user.'

It is impossible to doubt that, of the boroughs added by royal charter, many were added not because of their importance, or for the value of their voices in the deliberations of Parliament, but because from their smallness and lack of political interest they could be relied upon to return nominees of the Court. And in addition to the boroughs which were never intended to express a free opinion in politics, there were those which had once been thriving ports or seats of manufacturing industry, which had dwindled and decayed as wealth and commerce moved northwards, and had fallen under the influence of a great landowner or proprietor of boroughs ; or again it happened sometimes that the nature of the franchise might be such as to deprive the representation even of a large and thriving town of any value in so far as it meant the expression of local opinion.

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the smallness, the corruption, the non-representative character of the constituencies which existed before 1832. It is enough to say that it was alleged, and with apparent truth, at the end of the last century, that 306 members were virtually returned by the influence of 160 persons ; it is certain that the Reform Bill of 1832 had to deal with nine boroughs in which the constituencies did not exceed fifteen voters.

**Effect of
reforms
1832, 1867.** The Reform Act of 1832, and the Representation of the People Act of 1867, both tended to diminish or take away the representation of those places which had ceased to express any local or mercantile or political interest, and to give members to those places which from their population or importance had acquired a fair claim to be represented in Parliament.

There is no great object to be gained by following in detail the transference of political power from landowners and boroughmongers to communities which possessed numbers, interests, and wants. It is enough to note that before 1832

England and Wales returned 513 members to Parliament out of a total of 658; Scotland 45; and Ireland 100; that the Reform Act of 1832 gave to England and Wales 499 members, to Scotland 54, to Ireland 105, and that the Act of 1867 reduced England and Wales by six seats which were transferred to Scotland. The Reform Act of 1832 may, in its process of disfranchisement, be compared with the Redistribution Act of 1885, though the reasons and the results of the ^{48 & 49} _{Vict. c. 23.} disfranchising process are widely different.

The Reform Act had to deal with a great number of constituencies which had ceased to represent anything but the caprice or ambition of a few individuals. It disfranchised in England alone 56 boroughs absolutely, and 31 to the extent of depriving each of one member. The seats thus taken from the rotten boroughs were given to counties and large towns, on the principle that the representation of the country in Parliament should not be the representation of numbers only, but of communities in which the population was numerous: indeed it was impossible that representation should be other than local, so long as the franchise in counties differed from the franchise in towns. And for this same reason, until the franchise was made uniform, a measure of redistribution was necessarily a measure of disfranchisement. Where a borough ceased to return members its electors did not merely cease to have a member to themselves; with the exception of those who might possess the county qualification, they ceased to be electors at all.

The Redistribution Act of 1885 has deprived in England ^{The Act of 1885 dis-} 79 boroughs of their separate representation, in Scotland 2, franchises _{towns,} in Ireland 22. It has deprived 36 boroughs in England, and 2 in Ireland of one member each, and has taken one member from the county of Rutland.

But the Redistribution Act does this without depriving a single elector of his right to vote; for since the occupation, household, and lodger qualifications are now made uniform in county and borough, the borough which ceases to return a

³² The Act of
franchising
measure.

Effect of
uniform
franchise
on redis-
tribution.

member drops into the county constituency in which it is geographically situate, its electors become electors for that division of the county. They do not lose their votes, though their votes may lose something of their former importance.

Is based on numbers. The Redistribution Act of 1885 differs also from its predecessors in that it departs to a great extent from the principle of local representation, and is professedly based on an attempt to divide the members equally, or with a rough attempt at equality among the population.

Before the Act became law the average throughout the country of population to members was, in counties, 78,000, in boroughs, 41,200, to a member. But this proportion was not preserved: for instance, 79 boroughs in England, with populations under 15,000, each returned a member, and 36 boroughs with populations under 50,000, each returned two members.

The Redistribution Act starts on the principle, sacrificed to some extent in favour of local representation, that the proportion of 54,000 to a member should be the basis of calculation. All towns with a population of less than 15,000 are thrown into their respective counties, whether or no they have previously returned members. Towns which have more than 15,000 inhabitants and less than 50,000 are to return one member; those which have more than 50,000 and less than 165,000 are to return two members; and beyond this an additional member is given for every additional 50,000 of population; and the county representation is based in like manner upon numbers.

Exceptions. The Universities are exceptions from the general principle of the Act. Oxford has nearly 6,000 voters, Cambridge nearly 7,000 voters, Dublin about 4,000; each returns two members. Glasgow and Aberdeen combined have about 6,500 voters; so have Edinburgh and St. Andrews. Of the two combined constituencies, each returns one member, and so does the University of London with barely 2,000 voters.

But the Redistribution Act makes a further change and departure from the traditions of our representative system ; a change which follows not unnaturally from the attempt to proportion members to population throughout the country. Except in the cases of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, of the city of London, which is reduced from four members to two, and of those towns which have hitherto combined the possession of two members with a population between the limits of 50,000 and 165,000, the constituencies are to return one member apiece. For instance, Wolverhampton, which returned two members, receives an additional member, and is cut into three wards or constituencies. Liverpool, which returned three members, will now return nine, and is divided into as many constituencies. Lancashire, which returned eight members in four divisions, will now return twenty-three members in twenty-three divisions. Except in the cases which I have named as exceptions, in which the principle of the 'community has still been preserved,' the Act adopts, said Mr. Gladstone¹, 'not absolutely as a uniform, but as a general and prevailing rule the system of what is known as one-member districts. The one-member district is, as far as England is concerned, almost a novelty, because in a system of representation which counts and reckons more than six centuries of life, what began at the Reform Bill² may be considered almost a novelty. The recommendations of this system are, I think, these—that it is very economical, it is very simple, and it goes a very long way towards what is roughly termed the representation of minorities³.'

¹ CCXCIV. Hansard, 380. Debate of Dec. 1, 1884.

² This is not strictly accurate. Edward IV gave by charter the right of returning one member to Wenlock. The Welsh counties and county towns each returned a member by a statute of Henry VIII; so did Bewdley, Higham Ferrers, and Banbury, enfranchised, the first two by Mary, the last by James I.

³ It can hardly be said that in the General Election of 1885 the representation of minorities was much advanced by the single-member system.

§ 2. Registration.

Registration. It is a condition precedent to the exercise of the right to vote that the voter should be upon the Register. This preliminary to the enjoyment of the franchise was first introduced when the franchise was remodelled in 1832, and the rules respecting it have been dealt with by various statutes. As this book is not a manual of election law I do not propose to go into the rules of Registration in detail. It is enough to describe the practice in outline for England, as settled by the Registration Act, 1885.

48 Vict.
c. 15.

Duties of Clerk of the peace; It is the duty of the clerk of the peace in a county, of the town-clerk in a borough, to send to the overseers of every parish or township, on or within seven days of the 15th of April in each year, a precept. The precept contains a description of the qualifications which entitle persons to be registered as voters, and the order and dates of the things which the overseer is required to do. By following the chief instructions conveyed in this precept we may obtain some knowledge of the process of registration.

of the overseer,

The overseer must in April or May ascertain who is entitled to be registered as an inhabitant occupier of a rated dwelling-house, and must enter the names of such persons in a column of the rate-book. And if rateable property is not rated, the overseer must act in respect of the inhabitant occupiers of it as if it was rated.

Anno, p.
101,

in respect
of owners,

Before the 20th of June he must publish, if in a county constituency, the existing register of ownership voters, and must give notice to any £10 occupier who has not paid his rates.

of occupiers,

Before the 22nd of July he must make out a list of such occupiers as, not having paid their rates by the 20th of July, are disqualified. And before the 31st of July he must ascertain from the relieving officer of the parish the names of all persons disqualified by receipt of parochial relief.

Before the 31st of July he must also make out a list of

occupiers, that is, of all persons whom he has ascertained to be qualified as £10 rated occupiers, as inhabitant occupiers, and if in a county of £50 rental occupiers. He must make out a list of lodgers already on the register *who have sent in* of lodgers. *their claims to appear* in respect of the same lodgings; and, if in a county, a list of ownership claimants.

By the 20th of August all new claims have to be sent in, ^{Claims and objections.} and the lists, together with notices of objections, have to be published on the door of every church or public chapel in the parish.

By the 25th of August the lists of occupiers and old lodgers, and of claims and objections, must be sent by the overseer to the town clerk in a borough, to the clerk of the peace in a county, with the addition of a copy of the ownership register, and of lists of claims and objections in respect of ownership.

In September the Revising Barrister comes round and ^{The Revising Barrister,} adjudicates upon disputed claims and objections to names existing on the Register: from his decision an appeal lies on a case stated by him, to the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court, and on the result of the revision the Register ^{the Register,} is made out, containing three lists if it is for a county, two if it is for a borough. The three lists are lists of ownership, occupation, and lodger voters; and the ownership list is the one omitted in boroughs.

It will be seen that much care is taken in these provisions on behalf of the occupier. The ownership voter must claim in order to get on to the Register, but once there he need not make a fresh claim. The lodger voter has to claim afresh every year, but the fortunate occupier enjoys the privilege of being entered by the overseer on the occupier's list without the requirement of a claim on his part.

A man therefore who desires to vote for a county or borough must first obtain some one of the qualifications which have been set forth above, and next he must ensure that his name is placed upon the Register. But he may be subject to ^{Anse, p.} ^{108.} disqualifications which, if known and urged before a Revising

barrister, would have disentitled him to be placed upon the Register; and it has been questioned how far the evidence furnished by the Register is conclusive not only upon the returning officer who receives the votes, but upon the Court which may have to inquire into the validity of elections.

<sup>35 & 36
Vict.
c. 33, s. 7.</sup> The question turns on the construction of s. 7 of the Ballot Act, which enacts that no one shall be entitled to vote whose name is not on the Register; that every one shall be entitled whose name is on the Register, but that 'nothing in this section shall entitle any person to vote who is prohibited from voting by any Statute or by the common law of Parliament.'

<sup>Stowe v.
Jolliffe,
L. R. 9,
C. P. 734.</sup> And this exception to the conclusiveness of the Register has been interpreted not to include 'receipt of parochial relief, non-residence within proper distance of the borough, non-occupation, insufficient qualification.' 'It does not mean persons who from failure in the incidents or elements of the franchise could be successfully objected to on the revision of the register: it means persons who from some inherent or for the time irremovable quality in themselves have not, either by prohibition of statute or of common law, the status of parliamentary electors.'

The votes of such persons might be rejected by the returning officer, or if accepted by him might be struck off at a scrutiny upon an election petition.

Thus an undergraduate of full age who, in default of objection, was placed on the Register of parliamentary voters for the City of Oxford in virtue of the occupation of College rooms, would be entitled to vote. Not so an infant undergraduate in a like position.

§ 3. *Mode of Election.*

The process by which an election is made has been described, in its preliminary stages, in an earlier chapter. It has been described up to the point at which the returning officer receives the writ directing him to procure an election. As the process of election is now governed by the Ballot Act of

1872, it is worth noting that the changes effected by that Act, apart from details of procedure, relate to the publicity (1) of the nomination, (2) of the poll. Until that date the nomination took place at a hustings. The candidates were proposed and seconded in commendatory speeches, addressed for the most part to a casual crowd, consisting mainly of persons not entitled to vote. The candidates explained their political views, and, if the election was contested, a show of hands was demanded by the returning officer. Whatever the result of the show of hands it had no effect on the election. A poll was demanded on behalf of that candidate for whom fewest hands were held up, and on the days and at the place fixed for the poll the voters announced publicly the name of the candidate for whom they desired to vote. The disorders of the nomination and the possible intimidation of voters who voted openly were the evils which the Ballot Act was designed to remedy.

The present provisions of the law with respect to the conduct of an election depend upon the Parliamentary and Municipal Elections Act, better known as the Ballot Act, of 1872. The returning officer, upon the receipt of the writ, must give notice of the day and place of election, and of the poll if the election is contested; and he must do so, in the case of counties, within two days of receiving the writ, in the case of boroughs, on the day of its receipt or the following day. The election must take place, in the case of counties within nine days, in the case of boroughs within four days, from the receipt of the writ, and within those limits the returning officer may fix the day. The candidates have to be nominated on the day fixed for the election by the returning officer. The nomination is made in writing, each candidate being proposed and seconded by a registered elector for the constituency; the names of eight other registered electors must be affixed to the nomination paper as assenting to the nomination.

If within an hour of the time fixed for the election no more candidates are nominated than there are vacancies, the election is then made and the names returned to the Crown office in

Rules of
Election.

35 & 36
Vict. c. 33.

The nomi-
nation.

16 & 17
Vict. c. 15.

Chancery. If there is a contest the election is adjourned to a polling day, to be fixed by the returning officer: in a county, not less than two nor more than six clear days; in a borough, not more than three clear days from the day fixed for the election.

^{40 & 41}
Vict. c. 4.

⁴⁸ Vict.
c. 10.

Polling places are to be fixed conveniently as to number and situation by the local authorities, and the poll is to commence at eight in the morning, and conclude at eight in the afternoon. During these hours the voter, qualified and registered as above described, can deliver his vote at the polling place of his district by ballot. A paper is delivered to him containing the names of the candidates, and he places a mark, as he is able to do in secret, against the name or names of those for whom he desires to vote. The paper is placed in a box; at the conclusion of the poll the polling boxes are sent to the returning officer at the place of election, the votes are counted, the poll declared, and the return made to the clerk of the Crown in Chancery.

^{24 & 25}
Vict. c. 33.

In the Universities, English, Scotch, and Irish, the Ballot Act does not apply, and a voter can deliver his votes orally, or by means of a voting paper sent under certain formalities from the place of his residence.

§ 4. *Representation of Minorities.*

Schemes
for repre-
senting
minorities:

There is a matter which cannot easily be passed over in dealing with the mode in which electors should choose their representatives. I refer to the attempts which have been made in various ways to secure what is called the representation of minorities. As the electorate becomes larger and the constitution more democratic a fear has arisen in the minds of some political thinkers lest party organisation should drive into two hostile camps what might otherwise be an unmanageable multitude of too independent voters; a fear lest all freedom and variety of political thought should be lost from the necessity, in order to produce any result at all, of drawing up a definite programme of adherence to certain doctrines or of

fidelity to a certain individual. What is called the representation of minorities figures under various forms, and really means different things to different minds.

First, there is a plan which found favour with the promoters (1) fancy franchises; of the abortive reform bills of 1854, 1859, and 1866 ; a plan which was introduced, only to be rejected, into the bill of 1867. It had for its object to confer additional voting power on persons possessed of qualities supposed not to be too common, on the educated or the thrifty man. We may take the propositions of Lord John Russell's bill of 1854 as a fair illustration. It was intended by that measure to confer the franchise on persons enjoying salaries of £100 a year, or incomes of £10 a year from Government Stock ; who paid 40s. income tax or assessed taxes, possessed a deposit of £50 in the savings bank, or were graduates of any university¹.

It would be easy to multiply objections to qualifications of this nature. Some would be very easily created for the purpose of an election. Some might be of a fluctuating character. The universities are for the most part represented already. At any rate, these 'fancy franchises,' as they have been called, were never favourably received by the legislature.

Another idea, which has clothed itself in the phrase of (2) self-made constituencies; minority representation, is based on the desire to secure expression for opinions, perhaps of political importance, which may not be the opinions of the majority in any assignable locality. It is desirable that such opinions should find utterance : as a matter of fact there are but few opinions held by any number of men which have not a Parliamentary supporter ; but the absolute security of a representation of views can only be attained, if indeed it is attainable, by the adoption of Mr. Hare's scheme, and by the abolition of local constituencies altogether.

By this process the number of voters would be divided by the number of seats, and any person would be elected who obtained a number of votes equal to the result of the division.

¹ Molesworth, History of England, ii. 20.

The voter would arrange several candidates in the order of his choice, and his vote would be assigned to the candidate who stood highest on his list, whose number was not yet full. One advantage of the scheme would be that a voter would be less liable to the risk of his vote being thrown away. For it may well happen, under our present system, that a man may be in a permanent minority in the constituency of which he forms a part. Another advantage would be found in the better chance of recognition of exceptional individual merit or of special interests or opinions. But, as Mr. Bagehot has very forcibly pointed out, the scheme, in so far as its machinery did not fall, as it probably would fall, into the hands of party organisers, would give expression only to extreme opinions whose adherents could muster perhaps one or two constituencies. For the bulk of the voters would be driven by party managers into one of the two party camps because their gradations of opinion would not be so strongly marked, nor their desire to enforce them so keen as to make it possible to construct a variety of constituencies, each just off the strict party lines. Where such lines were departed from, the departure would be brought about by passionate enthusiasts for an impracticable ideal, or by the admirers of the fashionable hero of the hour.

(3) three-cornered constituencies;

There is another form of minority representation, which has for its object not to give greater political power to deserving persons, nor to secure Parliamentary utterance for a variety of views, but simply to diminish the power of the majority by making the minority rather larger. Such is the ground for the institution which prevailed from 1867 to 1885, of 'three-cornered constituencies.' More strictly described, it consists in giving to each voter in some large constituencies, returning three or four members, one vote less than there are seats to fill. The result of this is the return of one member who represents the minority, unless the majority is so large and so well drilled as to be able to spare votes enough to win all the seats.

There was a patent objection to a system which reduced the Parliamentary representation of the majority of a large city to

a level with that of the smallest town entitled to return a member. Liverpool, for instance, returned three members; each voter had but two votes: the majority of Liverpool was Conservative; the Liberal minority usually secured one seat; on a party division, therefore, the voting strength of Liverpool was no more than that of Eye, since one of its three members neutralised the vote of one of the other two.

But there is an objection, based on wider grounds, to these attempts to break the power of a majority by making the minority rather larger. So long as, on all important questions, a member's mind has to be absolutely settled, if he is to obtain or keep his seat; so long, in fact, as a member of the House of Commons is expected to obey with the unquestioning obedience of a soldier the orders of his party leaders, the size of a minority matters little. A minority, however small, can make itself heard; it can embitter the conduct of public business by irritating opposition, or can impede it by obstruction; but a minority, however large, is still a minority on a party division. If three men are opposed to two, in counting heads the three must win.

The last form which the question has assumed, and the last (4) proportional representation with which I propose to deal, is proportional representation; and I do not intend to enter that region of arithmetical jungle further than may be necessary to describe the object which the system professes to aim at. Its supporters desire primarily to give a wider choice to the voter, and by so doing to introduce variety into the representation, not in the sense of securing a hearing for exceptional views, or seats for men of exceptional abilities, but in the sense of obtaining a fuller representation of gradations and varieties of opinion based upon the same principles. In order to effect this they desire to see large constituencies returning considerable numbers of members, but returning them on a system which approximates to Mr. Hare's scheme, applied to a more limited area. The system must be admitted to be at present imperfectly worked out, and is not free from some elements of chance.

But it will not be unfair to take the description of its procedure, which was given by Mr. Courtney, its most eminent political supporter, to the House of Commons. He would allow a great town to retain, as one constituency, all the members assigned to it; would give to each voter one vote, but would allow him to say how he will give his vote in an order of preference, supposing that it is not required by the first or second candidate of his choice.

Mr. Courtney's exposition.

'Take the strongest example,' he says, 'that of Liverpool, with nine members. Each voter would put a figure 1 against the name of the candidate whom he most desired to see elected, a figure 2 against a second to whom he desired to give his vote if the first did not require it, and so on. What follows at the end of an election? All the papers are collected together, and their numbers are known by the existing machinery. Suppose 40,000 votes were given, and there are nine persons to be elected, the first thing to be done, according to the plan of which I am speaking, would be to divide the 40,000 by 10, that is, one more than the persons to be elected, giving a result of 4,000. Any person who has 4,001 is sure to be elected, because the remaining votes could not be divided among nine people, each getting more; the candidate, therefore, who gets 4,001 is certain to be elected. That, I think, is plain to the majority of the House. The papers, having been shuffled together, are arranged in heaps, according to the names marked 1, and there would be a great number of heaps. Some of the heaps would exceed 4,001, and those candidates who were found to have that number would be elected. The heaps remaining after the 4,001 had been taken away would be distributed afresh according to the names marked 2. That would bring up some more papers. The candidate who got 4,001 votes in these heaps would be declared elected, and then there would be another distribution. The process would thus go on, until in the end the nine persons would be elected, each receiving 4,000 votes. I claim that the plan is simple and workable, and that it would

secure the representation of the masses of your big towns. It has been asked, "Are you going to represent numbers or interests?" There is no such distinction. The scheme which I am propounding gives representation to all numbers and to all interests¹.

The schemes which have been propounded under the general description of the representation of minorities in Parliament have, as it would seem, set forth with different objects. There is the attempt to secure additional power in the representation for the educated, the thrifty, and the well-to-do. This is the object of the so-called 'fancy franchises.' There is the attempt to secure representation for every opinion which can find supporters in the country equalling in number the result of the division of voters by seats; this is Mr. Hare's scheme. There is the attempt to break the power of the majority by increasing the size of the minority through the instrumentality of such a machine as the so-called 'three-cornered constituency'; and lastly, there is the attempt of the advocates of proportional representation to offer a wider choice to the voter, and to secure the return of independent members.

The practical form which the difficulty assumes under our existing system, may be tentatively stated thus:—The single member constituencies may produce a variety of representation, but must needs do so by accident; they can only do so when the ward or division of town or county happens to contain a majority of voters of a special class or character. In the great majority of such constituencies candidates will be chosen on strictly party lines; and since large bodies of men have some difficulty in coming to conclusions, the candidates of each side will be selected by the really eager or extreme representatives of each party in the division.

The electors of such a constituency will only be able to vote for one candidate. They will have to choose between two, and each of the two will be the nominee of the most zealous

¹ Hansard, vol. 294, p. 675. Debate of Dec. 4, 1884.

Possible effect of single-member constituencies.

and pronounced members of the two political parties. It is very possible that to a great many electors the two candidates may be alike distasteful. Men of independent judgment may not care to vote for a candidate whose chief recommendation is, that under no circumstances will he withdraw his support from a given statesman, the leader of his party; or that he accepts with implicit faith a set of dogmas or a scheme of proposed legislation drawn up by active party managers. Yet if they do not vote for such a candidate, if they will not submit to what Mr. Courtney calls 'the pain and ignominy of being compelled to vote as some one tells you,' they must vote for his opponent, whose opinions may be yet more distasteful to them, or they must cease to exercise the privileges of an elector.

Summary. Without pronouncing upon the merits of the last of the schemes which I have endeavoured to describe, it is not difficult to condemn all the others. It is impossible with a very extended suffrage to pick and choose among electors, and by means of fancy franchises to give greater political power to certain qualities. It is unnecessary to contrive elaborate devices for ensuring a hearing to eccentric or unpopular opinions: the press and the platform give us ample security against the misfortune of failing to be informed of every crotchet which has ever vexed the soul of man. It is idle to endeavour to avert the 'tyranny of the majority' by making the minority a little larger; a minority must needs be a minority in a world where two and three make five; and the tyranny attributed to a majority merely expresses the natural dislike to being beaten. But it is not desirable that politics should fall entirely into the hands of party organisers, as may not impossibly happen under the new system of single-member constituencies with an extended franchise; and it is not desirable that the voter's choice should be limited to an alternative of extremes, and that politics should become the business or the recreation of fanatics, adventurers, or intriguers. The question resolves

itself into a choice of risks—the risk lest party discipline, which in a large deliberative assembly is practically necessary for the transaction of business, should be too far relaxed by the representation of opinions on a graduated scale ; and the risk lest party organisation, drawn too close, should exclude from political life practical men who do not care to see opinions pushed to their logical results, and independent men who like sometimes to make up their own minds on the questions of the hour.

SECTION IV.

PRIVILEGES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The privileges of the House of Commons have been the Difficulties of the subject of much legal discussion, and difficulties have arisen, not unnaturally, in ascertaining the rules of which they consist ; for they are only susceptible of legal definition when cast in a statutory form, or when they have come into collision with Courts of Law.

Statute Law on the subject is scanty. Privilege exists chiefly for the maintenance of the dignity of the House of Commons, and it is no wonder that the House thinks itself capable of maintaining its dignity without the aid of the legislature. Such Statute Law as exists has for its object the limitation of the prerogative of the Crown as against the House of Commons, and the limitation of the privileges of the House of Commons as against private rights.

There remains the mass of judicial decision, dealing for the most part with cases in which the Courts and the House have come into conflict, and from this it is not easy to select so much as is interesting and important from a purely legal point of view.

It will be well therefore that I should make clear at starting the topics with which I am going to deal and their connection.

Officers
and proce-
dure.

First, in order to simplify what follows, it is necessary to state that the House possesses certain officers for the general conduct of its business; that through these officers its privileges are enforced, and enforced by process of which the course has been under discussion, and the validity admitted by Courts of Law.

Privileges
demanded.

Next, we come to the privileges themselves. Of these, some are specifically asserted and demanded of the Crown at the commencement of every Parliament. Three deal with the relations of the House and the Crown—the privilege of free speech, of access to the Crown, and of having the most favourable construction put upon all their proceedings. One deals with the relations of the members of the House and other subjects of the realm—the privilege of freedom from arrest.

Privileges
not de-
manded.

But there are other privileges not specifically mentioned on this occasion, though regularly asserted and enforced by the House. These are, the right to provide for the due constitution of its own body, the right to regulate its own proceedings, and the right to enforce its privileges by fine or imprisonment, or, in the case of its own members, by expulsion.

Disputes
between
House and
Courts.

Lastly, we come to the questions of dispute which have arisen between the House and the Courts, and in these it would seem that the House has in the first instance misconceived the limitations on its undoubted privileges, and has then endeavoured to cure its error by an arbitrary assertion of exclusive right to define its privilege; in other words, to assume to itself what privileges it pleased.

Ashby v.
White.Stockdale
v. Hansard.

Thus it has disputed the legality of a legal act, and treated such an act as a contempt; or again, it has endeavoured to legalise an illegal act; and when its right to do these things has been disputed, it has tried to settle the question off-hand by a resolution that its privilege covers the case, and that no court has jurisdiction to discuss the legality of anything which its vote has ordered.

This is the issue on which the conflict has turned between

the House and the Courts. It is safe to say that the Courts have won the day.

The only other question of importance is comparatively Rules as to technical. It relates to the power possessed by the House to commit. commit for contempt, without assigning any other cause, or any cause at all, in the warrant of commitment, or the return to a writ of *habeas corpus*.

§ 1. *Officers of the House, and Procedure for Contempt.*

A consideration of the privileges of the House of Commons may be assisted by some preliminary words as to the position and duties of the Speaker, by whom these privileges are claimed and through whom they are enforced ; and further as to the machinery which the House possesses for recording its proceedings and for putting its privileges into effect.

Little needs to be said of the history of the office of The Speaker. There can be no doubt that from the first the Commons required and possessed a spokesman, to be their medium of communication with the Crown. At any rate, from the year 1377 there is a regular succession of Speakers described as 'pourparlour' or 'parlour et procuratour.' The form of election by the House and of approval by the Crown seems to have become settled early in the fifteenth century, and to have varied but little from the proceedings described in an earlier chapter.

Anno, p. 60.

The office is one of high dignity. The Speaker takes precedence of all Commoners, not merely by courtesy or by custom, but by legislative enactment. An act of 1689 provides that ^{1 Will. & Mary,} 'the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal not being peers _{c. 21. s. 2.} shall have and take place next after the peers of the realm and the Speaker of the House of Commons.'

The duties of the Speaker are twofold. He is, firstly, the spokesman and representative of the House ; as such he demands its privileges, communicates its resolutions, its thanks, its censures, its admonitions. He issues warrants by order of his duties—⁽¹⁾ as spokesman.

the House for the commitment of offenders against its privileges, for the issue of writs to fill vacancies among its members, for the attendance of witnesses, or the bringing of prisoners to the bar. The symbol of his office is the mace which is laid before him on the table when he is in the Chair, and which, borne by the Serjeant-at-arms, accompanies him wherever he goes in his capacity of Speaker.

(2) as chairman. Secondly, the Speaker is the chairman of the House, and in that capacity he maintains order in its debates, decides such questions as may arise upon points of order, puts the question, and declares the determination of the House.

The Chairman of Committees. But the Speaker does not act as chairman when the House goes into Committee. The Chair is then taken by the Chairman of Ways and Means, who is chosen at the commencement Post,p.235. of each Parliament for the purposes of the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means. The member thus chosen acts as chairman for other committees of the whole House, but the House retains the power of selecting some other member for such other committees.

Deputy Speaker. Difficulties have arisen for want of provision for supplying the place of the Speaker if he should be temporarily disabled by illness or accident from discharging his duties. Standing orders of the House, passed with the approval of the Crown, enable the Chairman of Ways and Means to act as deputy-speaker on such occasions, and a statute provides for the validity of acts required by law to be done by the Speaker, but done on such occasions by the deputy-speaker.

18 & 19 Vict. c. 84.

The Speaker is appointed afresh at the commencement of every Parliament. It is rare that the appointment should be made the subject of a party division ; but, as a matter of fact, whenever the office falls vacant during the existence of a Parliament, the new Speaker is the nominee of the party which possesses for the time a majority in the House. Either party is capable of producing men qualified beyond reproach to fulfil the duties of the Chair, and the Speaker of the last Parliament is usually accepted by the next without opposition.

The impartiality which the judicial duties of a Chairman require, makes the House shrink from investing the Speakership with the character of a party appointment.

The Speaker, the great officer of the House, may change as Parliaments change : he may lose his seat in the House at a general election, or be rejected as Speaker by the majority of a new Parliament. But under him there are subordinate offices which are not affected by dissolution of Parliament.

The holders of these permanent offices are the Clerk of the House and his assistants, the Serjeant-at-arms and his deputies.

The Clerk of the House of Commons has for his principal duty the record of the proceedings of the House. He is appointed for life by the Crown, and is technically styled 'Under-clerk of the Parliaments,' as distinguished from the Clerk of the House of Lords, whose proper title is 'Clerk of the Parliaments.' He signs all orders of the House, endorses the bills sent or returned to the Lords, and reads whatever is required to be read in the House. But his chief duty is to enter the proceedings of the House, and from these to prepare the journals, of the nature of which I shall have more to say later on. He has two assistants, clerks appointed by the *Post*, p. 158. Crown on the nomination of the Speaker, and removable only upon an address of the House.

The Serjeant-at-arms enforces the orders, as the Clerk records the proceedings of the House. He is appointed by the Crown, is the attendant of the Speaker when Parliament is sitting, and when it is not sitting may be called upon 'to attend her Majesty's person.'

Inside the House his duties are to attend the Speaker entering and leaving the House, to keep order in its precincts, to bring to the bar of the House persons who are summoned to attend there, or to introduce to the bar persons who are entitled to make communications to the House.

Outside the House he is charged with the execution of warrants issued by the Speaker in pursuance of an order of

the House for bringing persons in his custody to the bar, for retaining them in his charge, or committing them to such place of detention as the House may order.

Process for enforcement of privilege. The process by which the House enforces its privileges is by order to attend at the bar, or by order for the Speaker to issue a warrant for bringing the person summoned in custody of the Serjeant, or by a like order for warrant of commitment for contempt. The powers of the House in this respect were clearly defined by Parke B. in *Howard v. Gosset*.

10 Q. B. 45¹. ‘The House has power to institute inquiries and to order the attendance of witnesses, and, in case of disobedience (whether it has not even without disobedience we need not inquire) bring them in custody to the bar for the purpose of examination. And, secondly, if there be a charge of contempt and breach of privilege, and an order for the person charged to attend and answer it, and a wilful disobedience of that order, the House has undoubtedly the power to cause the person charged to be taken into custody and to be brought to the bar to answer the charge: and further, the House, and that alone, is the proper judge when these powers or either of them are to be exercised.’

And in construing warrants issued in virtue of these powers of the House, it was held that the rule applies ‘that nothing shall be intended to be out of the jurisdiction of a superior Court, but that which specially appears to be so.’

At p. 453. The powers here referred to will require further discussion and illustration, but this brief statement of their character and the mode of their exercise, may make it easier to understand the intervening matter which I have to discuss.

§ 2. *Privileges of the House demanded by the Speaker.*

The privileges of the House of Commons are claimed at the commencement of every Parliament, by the Speaker addressing the Lord Chancellor on behalf of the Commons. They are claimed as ‘ancient and undoubted,’ and are, through the

Chancellor, 'most readily granted and confirmed' by the Crown.

The practice of claiming these privileges dates from the reign of Henry VIII¹, but the privileges themselves are of much older date; and, so far as they are not affected by Statute, rest upon the common law or the custom of Parliament, and not upon any specific grant from the Crown.

It will be well to consider what are the various privileges of the House, whether specified or not in the Speaker's claim; and then, how they are limited or defined by the action of the Courts of Law.

The privileges claimed of the Crown by the Commons are first expressed generally as 'their ancient and undoubted rights and privileges'; and then 'particularly that their persons and servants might be free from arrests and molestations; that they may enjoy liberty of speech in all their debates; may have access to her Majesty's royal person whenever occasion shall require; and that all their proceedings shall receive from Her Majesty the most favourable construction.'

The House of Commons then asks for three things: freedom of the person; freedom of speech; and certain rights of a merely formal character. With these last one may deal so shortly that it may be convenient to take them out of their natural order.

(a) *Formal Privileges.*

The House has asked for, and is entitled to, liberty of speech in the matter and manner of debate; it is merely by courtesy that it asks to have the best construction put upon its proceedings.

The right of access is one which the House enjoys collectively, when an address to the Crown is to be presented by the

Right of
access.

¹ Sir E. May fixes the sixth year of Henry VIII as the commencement of the practice of claiming these privileges. Dr. Stubbs, vol. iii. p. 455, points out that the claim of access appears first in the records of 1536, and that of freedom from arrest in 1541.

Speaker, and is thus distinguishable from the right of each individual peer, as an hereditary counsellor of the Crown, to have audience of the Sovereign. But the House can communicate with the Crown through such of its members as are Privy Councillors, and have access to the Sovereign in that capacity, and the privilege is only important as a mode of giving emphasis to any communication which the Commons may desire to make to the Sovereign.

(b) *Freedom from Arrest.*

The other two privileges specially mentioned are of great practical importance, and confer rights, not only against the Crown, but against the public.

The first of these is freedom from arrest for the persons and servants of members during the continuance of session, and for forty days before its commencement and after its conclusion.

Object of
this privi-
lege.

Sess. paper,
1831 (114).

The object of the privilege was doubtless to secure the safe arrival and regular attendance of members on the scene of their Parliamentary duties: the privilege itself may perhaps relate back to the Saxon rule that such persons as were on their way to the *gemot* were in the king's peace. It never was held to protect members from the consequences of treason, felony, or breach of the peace. In 1763 both Houses resolved, in the case of Mr. Wilkes, that it did not extend to the writing and publishing of seditious libels, 'and since that time it has been considered generally that privilege is not claimable for any indictable offence.' Nor does it prevent a member from being committed to prison for contempt of Court. A committee of privileges was appointed to deal with the case of Mr. Long Wellesley, who had taken a ward in chancery, his own daughter, out of the jurisdiction, and had been committed for contempt by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Brougham. The committee reported that his claim of privilege ought not to be admitted.

But within the limit of civil cases the privilege was made

a cause of hardship to suitors, for not only was the member's person protected from arrest and his property from legal process, but rights of action were held in abeyance, since proceedings could not even be commenced against a member or his servant.

The history of legislation on this subject may be briefly noted. In 1603 arose the case of Sir Thomas Shirley, a member of the House, who had been imprisoned in the Fleet. The Commons sent their officer to demand his release, and on a refusal committed the Warden of the Fleet to the Tower for contempt. Sir Thomas was after some time released, and thereon the Warden was reprimanded by the House and was also set free. But a Statute was passed which was at once the first legislative recognition of this privilege, and was also some protection to the suitor and to the keeper of the prison. It provided that the suitor should not lose his right of action because he had once taken his debtor in execution, but that the right should revive after the privilege had expired. It further provided that the officer releasing a prisoner from arrest on claim of privilege, should not be charged in any action for allowing his prisoner to escape.

A practice came into use, not long after Shirley's case, of staying proceedings by a letter from the Speaker, in actions commenced against members. Not merely arrest of the person, but distress of goods and the taking of any proceedings at all in an action against a member was regarded as a breach of privilege, unless the member consented to waive his right; and a member's servants were held to be covered by the privilege of their master.

To remedy this hardship upon suitors, an Act was passed in 1700, providing that suits might be commenced against members and their servants in the principal Courts of Law and Equity during a dissolution, a prorogation, or an adjournment for more than fourteen days, and that during such times judgment might be given and goods taken in execution.

The Act 2 & 3 Anne, c. 18, provided that penalties and

forfeitures against privileged persons employed in the revenue or in any office of public trust, should not be stayed on ground of privilege ; and 11 George II, c. 24, extended the effect of the Act of William III to proceedings in any court of record.

But the privilege was not reduced to reasonable limits until 10 George III, c. 50. This Statute allowed any action or suit to be commenced and prosecuted, at any time, against members and their servants : and no process thereupon was to be stayed by reason of privilege ; only the persons of members were privileged from arrest and imprisonment.

Its present extent. Thus the members' servants entirely lost their immunity, and the members themselves only retained the privilege of freedom from arrest for a period which is held to extend to forty days before and after the meeting of Parliament. This period was long unsettled by statute or judicial decision, though it was generally assumed to include, as well the duration of a Parliament, as the forty days before and after ^{1 Exch. 430.} a Parliament sat. It was held in Mr. Dunecombe's case, that long custom, though unexplained, had thus fixed the extent of the immunity. The explanation does not seem very difficult. The privilege was designed to secure the protection of a member 'eundo, morando, et exinde redeundo' ; the old notice of summons required was forty days, and this period would therefore be supposed to cover the utmost time required by a member for coming to a Parliament and returning home.

Magna
Charta,
s. 14.

It should be added, that privilege of Parliament operates to take a member out of custody if he is elected while in custody, always supposing that he is not in custody for an indictable offence or for contempt of Court¹.

33 & 34
Vict. c. 77.
s. 9. Akin to the privilege of freedom from arrest is the privilege, now always waived, of resisting a subpoena to attend as a witness² ; and the privilege, now confirmed by statute, of exemption from liability to serve on juries.

¹ 74 Com. Jour. 44 ; 75 Com. Jour. 230.

² May, 148.

(c) *Freedom of Speech.*

This privilege, though claimed as resting upon the ancient custom of Parliament, has been confirmed by judicial and legislative sanction on divers occasions.

In 1397 the Commons adopted a bill laid before them by ²⁰ Ric. II. one Haxey to reduce the charges of the royal household. The king rebuked the Commons for discussing such matters, and demanded the name of the introducer of the bill. The House gave up the name of Haxey with many expressions of regret for his conduct. He was condemned in Parliament as a traitor, and was saved from death only by the interposition of Archbishop Arundel¹.

In the first year of Henry IV, Haxey petitioned the King for the reversal of this judgment, as being ‘encontre droit et la curse quel avoit este devant en Parlement,’ and it was reversed by the King with the advice and assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal².

This amounted to a judicial recognition of the privilege by the Crown and House of Lords; and the Commons further petitioned the King on their own behalf to reverse the judgment ‘si bien en accomplissement de droit come pur salvation des libertes de les ditz Communes’³. The King assented to their petition, and the judgment was held to be ‘wholly reversed, repealed, annulled, and held of none effect.’

In Strode’s case, a prosecution was commenced in the Stanley Court against a member who had introduced certain bills for the regulation of the tin mines in Cornwall. He was fined and imprisoned; and thereupon an Act was passed declaring that not only as regarded Richard Strode, but as regarded all members of that or any future Parliament, legal proceedings ‘for any bill, speaking, reasoning, or declaring ⁴ Hen. VIII, c. 8. of any matter or matters concerning the Parliament, to be

¹ Haxey would seem to have been a clerical proctor attending under the *præminentia* clause.

² 3 Rot. Par. 430.

³ Ibid. 434.

communed or treated of, should be utterly void and of none effect.'

<sup>The Tudors
and free
speech.</sup> Yet the Tudors and the first two Stuarts were strongly disposed to limit the freedom of speech and matter of deliberation in Parliament. Members whose speech in matter or manner was obnoxious to the Court were summoned before the Council, committed to prison, or forbidden to attend Parliament till further notice. And the royal view of the extent of the privilege is thus defined by the Lord Keeper in reply to the Speaker's petition. 'Privilege of speech is granted, but you must know what privilege you have; not to speak every one what he listeth or what cometh in his brain to utter that; but your privilege is, *aye* or *no*. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, her Majesty's pleasure is, that if you perceive any idle heads that will not stick to hazard their own estates: which will meddle with reforming the Church, and transforming the Commonwealth, and do exhibit any bills to such purpose, that you receive them not, until they be viewed and considered by those who it is fitter should consider of such things and can better judge of them.'

<sup>1 Parl.
Hist. 149.</sup> The line taken by the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns on this question of freedom of speech, shows that the House had to struggle not merely for latitude of discussion, but for the existence of its initiative in legislation, and in deliberation. The Crown maintained and the House denied that the Commons were summoned merely to vote such sums as were asked of them, to formulate or to approve legislation or topics of legislation submitted to them, and to give an opinion on matters of policy if, and only if, they were asked for one. A standing protest against this contention on the part of the Crown survives in the practice, at the beginning of every Session, of reading a bill for the first time before the Queen's Speech is taken into consideration.

<sup>Anno,
pp. 58, 63.</sup> 1629. The proceedings in the King's Bench against Eliot, Hollis, and Valentine for seditious speeches in Parliament and for an assault upon the Speaker, are the last instance of legal

proceedings being taken against members of the House in Eliot's contravention of their privilege of free speech. A conviction was obtained against these men upon the charges made against them, but in the following reign the judgment was reversed in the House of Lords upon writ of error. One cause of error stated was that words spoken in Parliament could only be judged in Parliament and not in the King's Bench; another was that two offences were dealt with by the judgment of the King's Bench, the assault on the Speaker, and the utterance of seditious words in Parliament; and it was alleged that even if the assault was proper to be dealt with by the Court of King's Bench, the words spoken in Parliament could not be dealt with out of Parliament. ^{3 State Trials, 294.}

The Commons upon this occasion thought it well to resolve that the Act of Henry VIII was not a special Act passed for the benefit of Strode, but a general Act declaring and confirming the existing privileges of the House.

And, finally, the Bill of Rights re-asserts the privilege, ^{1 Will. & Mary,} enacting 'that the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or place out of Parliament.' ^{2, c. 2.}

But though we find no instances after the Revolution of proceedings taken in any Court at the instance of the executive for words spoken in Parliament, yet the free speech and action of members was not unfrequently interfered with, in the case of such as had any office or commission to lose, by a minister like Walpole, or a king like George III, who desired to use all means in his power for keeping in his service a compact and obedient majority. It is quite in accord with our modern ideas that a subordinate member of a ministry should cease to hold a political office if he persistently opposes the policy of his leader: but Walpole and George III dealt with non-political offices, and deprived officers in the army of their commissions for words spoken or votes given in Parliament. The last case of this kind was that of General Conway in 1764, who, for opposing the ministry of George

Grenville on the question of general warrants, was dismissed from the King's service, not only as a Groom of the Bed-chamber, but also as Colonel of a regiment. 'My overt acts,' he says, 'have been only voting as any man might from judgment only in a very extraordinary and serious question of personal liberty¹.'

The practice was very shortly afterwards discontinued; in fact Burke claims credit to the Rockingham ministry of the following year for having 'abolished the dangerous and unconstitutional practice of removing military officers for their votes in Parliament²'.

Speech and action in Parliament are then free and unquestioned, and out of this privilege have grown two matters of practice with regard to the presence of strangers in the House, and the publication of its proceedings and debates.

(d) *Freedom of Speech in relation to the Exclusion of Strangers.*

Grounds
for ex-
cluding
strangers.

1771.

The House has always claimed and enjoyed the right to exclude strangers and to debate with closed doors, and this for two reasons. The first was the inconvenience to which in former times members were put when, owing to the arrangements of the House, it was possible for strangers to come so far within the body of the House, that, on one occasion at least, a stranger was counted in a division³.

The other reason was the possible intimidation which might be exercised by the crown if reports were made of the

¹ Walpole's Letters, iv. 229.

² Short Account of a late Short Administration.

³ Com. Jour. 33. 212. After a division on motion made and question put, 'That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair,' 'it having happened that among the members who were coming in on the division a stranger who had continued in the lobby after it was cleared had come in, and was told as one of the Noes, several members objected to the validity of the division, and insisted that the question ought to be put again and the sense of the House taken. Mr. Speaker immediately on declaring the numbers had ordered the doors of the House to be locked, in order that no member might go forth. The Stranger was then brought to the bar and examined, and it appearing that what he had done was from ignorance and inadvertency, and without any intention of passing for a member on a division, and being known to several members as a man of good character, he was for the present ordered to be taken from the Bar.' He was afterwards dismissed with a caution.

speech and action of members, in days when freedom of debate was not fully recognised as a privilege of the House.

The custom was, that if a member took notice of the presence of strangers, the Speaker was obliged to order them to withdraw. The custom was found in the year 1875 to work inconveniently: certain members who were connected with the Press thought it wrong that reporters should be present only on sufferance, and endeavoured to reduce the rule to an absurdity by frequent notice of the presence of strangers. The House therefore resolved, after some discussion, 'that if, at any sitting of the House or in Committee, any member shall take notice that strangers are present, Mr. Speaker, or the Chairman (as the case may be), shall forthwith put the question that strangers be ordered to withdraw, without permitting any debate or amendment: provided that Mr. Speaker and the Chairman may, whenever he think fit, order the withdrawal of strangers from any part of the House¹.'

The rule does not seem to effect the purpose of those whose conduct procured its passing, for it rather curtails the right of individual members to clear the gallery than alters the position of the representatives of the Press.

(e) *Freedom of Speech in relation to the Publication of Debates.*

Following upon the power to exclude strangers, and a part of the general right of privacy in order to secure freedom of debate, comes the right of the Commons to prohibit the publication of proceedings in their House.

The House of Commons in the Long Parliament was the first to forbid a member 'to give a copy or publish in print anything that he shall speak here without leave of the House²': and subsequently printers were warned to give account of the communication to them of matters which took place in the House³.

Accounts of the votes and proceedings were ordered in

¹ Hansard 124, p. 55.

² Com. Jour. 2. 209.

³ Ibid. 220.

Reporting in the 18th century. 1680 to be printed under the direction of the Speaker, but the desire to maintain the secrecy of debate found stronger expression after the Revolution, and was made the matter of frequent resolutions forbidding the publication of proceedings on pain of incurring the penalties of breach of privilege. There was an interesting debate on this subject in 1738, during the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole, when the leaders of the three great parties in the House took part in the discussion.

Walpole held that it was impossible to be secure against misrepresentation if the report of debates was allowed. Wyndham, the leader of the Tories, thought that 'the public ought to be able to judge of the merits of their representatives.' Pulteney, who led the malcontent Whigs and professed to represent the popular party, took the least popular ground, and said plainly that he would not be 'made accountable without doors for what he said within'.

The fear of misrepresentation was not unfounded : newspaper reporting was in its infancy : nor was there any great desire to represent fairly what was said by politicians whose opinions were opposed to those of the reporter: the best reports of the time are evidently far from faithful reproductions of what passed in the House. The resolution of the House in 1738, the result of the debate just described, condemned the publication of any account of its proceedings as 'a high indignity and a notorious breach of privilege'; but in spite of this, the practice of reporting continued.

Down to the year 1771 such accounts of debates as were made public appeared in magazines which came out monthly or quarterly, and after the resolution of 1738 the House and the speakers figured under feigned names. But in 1771 notes of debates, by no means careful as to accuracy, began to appear in the daily journals, and the names of the speakers were attached sometimes with comments and nicknames of an offensive sort. Thereupon the House entered upon a serious and complicated conflict with the Press.

¹ Parl. Hist. x. 811.

In the course of a series of attacks upon printers and publishers, the Commons sent a messenger into the city to arrest a printer of debates: the printer sent for a constable and gave the messenger into custody for assaulting him in his own house. All parties went to the Mansion House, where the Mayor and two aldermen, Wilkes and Oliver, discharged the printer, holding, that by virtue of the city charter, a warrant of the House was of no force within the City unless backed by a city magistrate: but they committed the messenger for an assault, allowing him to go free on bail. The House of Commons sent for the Lord Mayor and the two aldermen, for the Lord Mayor's clerk and the book of recognizances. They erased from the book the entry as to the messenger's recognizances, and committed the Mayor and aldermen to the Tower. A House which could unwarrantably interfere with the procedure of a court of justice, was not unlikely to disregard the opinion or the interests of the public. Nevertheless, it was frightened by the display of feeling exhibited by the people of London on behalf of the City officers, and this was the last occasion on which its privilege in this respect was asserted. With the impunity accorded to reporters, the practice of reporting has improved, and the House, sensible of the advantages which it derives from a full and clear account of its debates, has given increased facilities to those who report them.

We are accustomed, therefore, to be daily informed, throughout the Parliamentary Session, of every detail of events in the House of Commons: and so we are apt to forget two things.

The first is, that these reports are *made* on sufferance, for Reporting the House can at any moment exclude strangers and clear the ^{is on} reporters' gallery; they are also *published* on sufferance, for the House may at any time resolve that such publication is a breach of privilege and deal with it accordingly.

The second is, that though the privileges of the House confer a right to privacy of debate, they do not confer a corre-

Limits to
right to
publish
debates.

Stockdale
v. Hansard.
9 A & E. I.

sponding right to the publication of debate. Apart from powers conferred by Statute, the right of the House of Commons to publish its proceedings, otherwise than for the use of its members, would be limited by the common law rules as to defamation of character ; and it would be no answer to an action for libel brought against the publisher, that the libellous matter was a part of a debate in the House of Commons, or was a part of a report made for the use of the House, and printed and published by its order. Still less is a private member entitled to claim privilege for the publication of a speech delivered within the walls of the House. Within those walls he may say what he pleases, and is protected by the general privilege of the House ; but if he chooses to circulate outside the House statements made within it, he does so at his peril, and if they contain defamatory matter he will be liable to proceedings for libel.

The extent to which the publication of Parliamentary proceedings has, in this respect, been protected by judicial decision or statutory enactment, may thus be traced.

¹ Saund.
^{131.} It was held in *Lake v. King* that an action would not lie for defamatory matter contained in a petition printed and delivered to members, this being agreeable to the course and proceedings of Parliament. And if it is permissible to a private individual to circulate in the form of a petition among members that which would be libellous if published otherwise, it follows, as of course, that no words spoken by a member in the course of Parliamentary proceedings, or papers printed and circulated by order of the House among its members, would be actionable.

9 A. & E. I. But in *Stockdale v. Hansard*, this principle was not allowed to extend to publications which were not designed for the exclusive use of members. In that case, the House of Commons ordered the printing and publishing of copies of certain reports in such numbers, as that some copies should be available for sale to the public. One of these reports contained matter defamatory of the plaintiff. He sued the publisher,

and Lord Denman ruled, and the Court of Queen's Bench upheld his ruling, that the House could not by its order legalise 'the indiscriminate publication and sale of all such papers as the House may order to be printed for the use of its members.'

The controversy between the House and the Court of Queen's Bench, of which this decision forms a part, extended to the general question of the relation of Courts of Law to questions of Privilege. But the case does fix the limits of the right of the House to publish its proceedings on matters connected therewith, and settles that such publication, if defamatory, is actionable unless it is confined to members of the House. Such publications were relieved from this liability by 3 & 4 Vict. c. 9, which enacts that a certificate from any one of certain officers of either House, verified by affidavit, and stating that the publication was made by authority of the House of Lords or House of Commons, should be an immediate stay of any civil or criminal proceedings taken in respect of defamatory matter contained in the publication.

Thus far it was settled that statements published by authority of either House, though injurious to the character of an individual, would not give a cause of action for libel. In 1868 a further question arose. The editor of a newspaper, in a fair report of proceedings in Parliament, made with no hostile or malicious intention, but solely with a view to his own profit, published matter defamatory of an individual. The publication could not be said to be authorised by Parliament except in so far as the exclusion of reporters at the will of the House might have made such a report impossible. It was held by the Court of Queen's Bench, that such publications were lawful, and that while 'honestly and faithfully carried on, those who publish them will be free from legal responsibility, though the character of individuals may incidentally be injuriously affected.'

But such publication is carefully distinguished from the publishing of his speech by an individual. 'There is ob-

Privilege
cannot le-
galise defa-
mation.

But a fair
report is
privileged.

L. R.
4 Q. B. 73.

Wason v.
Walter.

L. R. 4.
Q. B.
p. 85.

viously,' says Cockburn C. J., 'a very material difference between the publication of a speech made in Parliament for the express purpose of attacking the conduct of an individual, *and afterwards published with a like purpose or effect*, and the faithful publication of Parliamentary reports in their entirety, with a view to afford information to the public, and with a total absence of hostile intention or malicious motive towards any one.'

§ 3. Privileges of the House not demanded by the Speaker.

So far I have dealt with those privileges of the House which are demanded by the Speaker and granted by the Crown at the commencement of each Parliament. But there are other privileges which would seem to be considered inherent in the House, which are at any rate undoubtedly exercised by it, though they are not specifically claimed from the Crown.

(a) *Right to provide for its proper Constitution.*

One of these privileges is the right to provide for the proper constitution of the body of which it consists, by the issue of writs when vacancies occur during the existence of a Parliament; by enforcing disqualifications for sitting in Parliament; and, until recently, by determining disputed elections.

Filling of
vacancies.

(1) When a vacancy occurs in the House from any cause which legally vacates a seat, or when a member is returned for two places and makes election which he will serve for, a warrant is issued by the Speaker, in pursuance of an order of the House, to the clerk of the Crown in Chancery, or, in the case of a seat in Ireland, to the clerk of the Crown in Ireland, for a writ to be issued for the return of a member to supply the vacancy. The Speaker's warrant is issued by order of the House; it consequently could not be issued out of Session; but this defect is supplied, to a great extent, by a series of Statutes which provide that the Speaker should issue his

warrant, subject to certain formalities and restrictions, if a member should vacate his seat during the recess by death, by elevation to the peerage, by bankruptcy, or by the acceptance of office other than those formal offices which members take, in order to effect a resignation of their seats in Parliament¹.

(2) As will be presently seen, the House has given over to the Law Courts the right to determine controverted elections; that is to say, elections which are called in question on the ground that a candidate, otherwise properly qualified for a seat, has been returned in an informal manner, or by persons who were not entitled to vote, or whose vote was procured by improper inducements. But it retains the right to pronounce at once on the existence of legal disqualifications in those returned to Parliament, and will declare a seat to be vacant, if the member returned is subject to such disqualification, without waiting for the return to be questioned by persons interested in the matter. The case of O'Donovan Rossa, February 10, 1870, of John Mitchel, February 18, 1875, of Michael Davitt, February 28, 1882, are instances of the exercise of this right by the House of Commons.

The case of John Mitchel, who was twice elected, illustrates best the action of the House in such matters. In the first instance, no petition was lodged, and the House declared the seat vacant. On the occasion of his second election, a petition was lodged, and the seat claimed by the other candidate, and the House allowed the disqualification to be determined by the Courts; but it does not follow that the House was bound to await the decision of a Court of Law.

(3) The right to determine questions of disputed elections, claimed and exercised by the Commons from 1604 to 1868, was assigned by 31 & 32 Vict. c. 125 to the Court of Common Pleas, and is now exercised by the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court. The claim of the House to jurisdiction in

¹ The Statutes are—as to death or peerage, 24 Geo. III, c. 26; as to office, 21 & 22 Vict. c. 110; as to bankruptcy, 46 & 47 Vict. c. 52, s. 33; as to certain formalities, 26 Vict. c. 20.

this matter was somewhat doubtful, though it was exercised without question, if not in a very satisfactory manner, for more than 250 years. Originally the writ addressed to the sheriff was returnable to Parliament: the Act of the 7^{7 Hen. IV.} Henry IV provided that it should be returned to Chancery, c. 5. but disputed returns were decided during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries on the rare occasions when they arose, by the King, assisted by the Lords, though an Act of 1410 authorised the Judges of Assize to hear them.

<sup>Fortescue
and
Goodwin.</sup> In the reign of Elizabeth the Commons claimed the right; in 1604 they insisted upon it. The case arose upon a disputed return for the county of Bucks, and the proceedings in that case are worth noting¹. James I, in the proclamation for calling his first Parliament, took upon himself to admonish all persons concerned with the election of knights of shires, that, among other things, they should take express care that no bankrupt or outlaws were elected; he further announced that all returns should be made to the Chancery, and that if such returns were contrary to the tenor of his proclamation, they 'should be rejected as unlawful and insufficient.'

Sir Francis Goodwin, an outlaw, was returned for the county of Bucks. On the return of his election being made, it was refused by the clerk of the Crown on the ground of the outlawry. The clerk issued a new writ on his own authority, and Sir John Fortescue was returned.

The House inquired into the matter, and having examined the clerk of the Crown, resolved that Goodwin was duly elected, and ordered the indenture of his return to be filed in the Crown office.

The Lords first took the matter up, and asked an explanation of the Commons; the Commons refused to discuss the question. A message then came from the Lords that the King desired the two Houses to confer upon the election. The Commons thereupon asked access to the King, and stated the grounds of their action. The King asserted that returns

¹ Parliamentary History; 998 et seq.

'being all made into the Chancery are to be corrected and reformed by that Court only into which they are returned,' and he desired the House to hold a conference with the Judges. This, after a long debate, the House determined not to do, but submitted an argumentative memorial to the King, meeting his objections and alleging precedents for the right they claimed. It is noticeable, that of the five precedents set forth, two only are cases of disputed returns, two are cases of disqualified persons being returned, and one a case of a member being returned for two places.

The King was not satisfied with the answer of the House; he still desired a conference between the Commons and the Judges. To this the Commons reluctantly assented; a conference took place before the King and council, and the King in the end admitted the right of the House to be a court of record and judge of returns, though he claimed a corresponding jurisdiction for the Chancery; and he suggested as a compromise, that the elections of Fortescue and of Goodwin should both be held void and a new writ issued. This was done, and the right of the Commons was not afterwards questioned nor that of the Chancery asserted¹.

For some time disputed returns were decided by a Committee Modes of of Privileges and Elections nominated by the House. This trial became an open committee of the whole House after 1672, 1727- and finally, in the time of Speaker Onslow, the confidence felt 1761. in him caused the parties to these suits to ask a trial at the bar of the House.

It would have been difficult to find a worse tribunal. As Trial at the trial was before the whole House, no single member felt bar. any individual responsibility. The judges were a large and fluctuating body, wanting alike in the training and the inclination to act judicially. In fact, a disputed return was settled by a party division. The closing struggles of Walpole's

¹ It is proper to note here a distinction between the claim of the Chancery, in the case of Fortescue and Goodwin, to adjudicate upon a disputed return, and the claim of the Chancellor, Lord Shaftesbury, in 1672, to issue writs to supply vacancies during a recess without a warrant from the Speaker.

ministry turned, not on his foreign or domestic policy, but on votes of the House taken on election petitions. 'Last Friday,' says Horace Walpole, 'we carried a Cornish election Dec. 17th, . . . You can't imagine the zeal of the young men on both sides.' 'Tuesday, we went on the merits of the Westminster 1741. election, and at ten at night divided and lost it. They had 220, we 216; so the election was declared void. We had forty-one more members in town who would not, or could not, come down. The time is a touchstone for wavering consciences. All the arts, money, promises and threats, all the arts of the former year are applied, and self-interest operates to the aid of their party and the defeat of ours.' Finally, the loss of the Chippenham election petition determined Walpole to resign.

Under the Grenville Act, To remedy this state of things, Mr. Grenville, in 1770, introduced and carried the Act known as the Grenville Act, at first a temporary measure, but afterwards made permanent. This Act transferred the decision of disputed returns from the House to a committee, selected from a list chosen by ballot, of forty-nine members, from which list the petitioner and sitting member struck out names alternately until the number was reduced to thirteen. Each party nominated an additional member, and the case was tried by this tribunal, to which was given the power of administering an oath. No appeal lay to the House, whose privileges in this respect were henceforth limited by the operation of the Statute. The committee was a more responsible tribunal than the House at large; it had a better chance of arriving at an impartial decision, and the power of administering an oath enabled it to obtain evidence on which it might rely: but its members could not fail to be interested on party grounds in the result of their decision, and being selected by lot, they had not necessarily any trained judicial capacity. The committee which determined these questions was diminished in number, and the mode of its appointment altered by Sir R. Peel's Act, 4 & 5 Vict. c. 58, and again by 11 & 12 Vict. c. 98.

But in 1868 the House adopted the only course by which a Under the
 really satisfactory decision of controverted elections could be Parlia-
 attained, and handed them over to the Courts of Law. The mentary
 rules for their trial are now to be found in the Parliamentary
 Elections Act, 31 & 32 Vict. c. 125, and the amending Act,
 42 & 43 Vict. c. 75. The petition is presented, not to the House,
 but to the High Court of Justice ; the trial is conducted, not by
 a committee of the House at Westminster, but by two Judges
 of the High Court in the borough or county of which the
 representation is in issue. The Judge certifies his decision to
 the Speaker, and the House, on being informed of the certi-
 ficate by the Speaker, is required (sect. 13) to enter the same
 upon the Journals, and to give such directions for confirming
 or altering the return, or for the issue of a new writ, as the
 form of certificate may necessitate.

(b) *Right to the exclusive cognizance of matters arising within the House.*

Blackstone lays it down as a maxim upon which the whole law and custom of Parliament is based 'that whatever matter arises concerning either House of Parliament ought to be examined, discussed, and adjudged in that House to which it relates, and not elsewhere.'

This statement cannot be accepted without certain reserva- Limits of
 tions. It is not true to say that because a matter has arisen the right.
 concerning the House, and has been adjudged within the House, such a matter cannot be considered elsewhere, if it affects rights exerciseable outside and independently of the House. It is strictly true to say that the House has the exclusive right 'to regulate its own internal concerns,' and Extent of
 that, short of a criminal offence committed within the House the right.
 or by its order, no court would take cognizance of that which passes within its walls.

The best illustration of this statement is the recent case of 12 Q. B. D. Bradlaugh v. Gossett. In that case, the plaintiff complained ²⁷¹ that having been elected and returned member for the borough

of Northampton, he had not been allowed to take the oath required by the Parliamentary Oaths Act, and that, by a resolution of the House, the Serjeant-at-arms had been ordered 'to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the House until he shall engage no further to disturb the proceedings of the House.' The disturbance in question arose from the attempt of Mr. Bradlaugh to take the oath which the law required him to take, and which a resolution of the House prevented him from taking. The plaintiff asked the Court to declare the order of the House to be void, and to restrain the Serjeant-at-arms from carrying it into effect.

The Court held that it was not concerned with the interpretation which the House of Commons for the regulation of its internal procedure chose to place upon a statute; and that the House, having power of exclusion, had power to effect such exclusion by the necessary force. The law on the subject is very clearly set forth in the judgment of Stephen J.

v. Gosset,
12 Q. B. D.
280.

'In order to raise the question now before us, it is necessary to assume that the House of Commons has come to a resolution inconsistent with the Act; for, if the resolution and the Act are not inconsistent, the plaintiff has obviously no grievance. We must of course face this supposition, and give our decision upon the hypothesis of its truth. But it would be indecent and improper to make the further supposition that the House of Commons deliberately and intentionally defies and breaks the Statute-law. The more decent, and I may add the more natural and probable supposition is, that, for reasons which are not before us, and of which we are therefore unable to judge, the House of Commons considers that there is no inconsistency between the Act and the Resolution. They may think there is some implied exception to the Act. They may think that what the plaintiff proposes to do is not in compliance with its directions. With this we have nothing to do. Whatever may be the reasons of the House of Commons for their conduct, it would be impossible for us to do justice without hearing and considering those reasons; but it would

be equally impossible for the House, with any regard for its own dignity and independence, to suffer its reasons to be laid before us for that purpose, or to accept our interpretation of the law in preference to its own. It seems to follow that the House of Commons has the exclusive power of interpreting the statute, *so far as the regulation of its own proceedings within its own walls is concerned*; and that, even if that interpretation should be erroneous, this Court has no power to interfere with it directly or indirectly.'

The point at which Courts of Law will enter upon a discussion as to the limits of privilege, and the effect of resolutions of the House outside its walls is a matter for separate consideration. But the Judges in the case referred to, state, as clearly as it is possible to state a legal proposition, that they would take cognizance of nothing short of a criminal offence, 'which was done within the walls of the House.'

Courts take no cognizance of what is done within the House,
12 Q. B. D.
p. 283.

It should be noted that the Courts have more than once intimated that a crime committed in the House or by its order would not thereby be considered outside their jurisdiction.

In the case of Sir John Eliot and others above referred to, *Anst* who were convicted of seditious speeches in Parliament and of *an assault upon the Speaker*, the House of Lords, reversing the judgment upon error, does so on the ground that two distinct offences were included in one judgment, and that one of these offences, the alleged seditious speeches, was not cognizable by the Court of King's Bench. But it was not thereby decided that an assault upon a member of the House, committed within its walls, might not be dealt with in a Court of Law; and Lord Ellenborough, in *Burdett v. Abbott*, guards himself ^{12 East,} by saying that it will be time to consider such a case when ^{at p. 128.} it arises.

And lastly, Mr. Justice Stephen says 'that he knows of no authority for the proposition that an ordinary crime committed in the House of Commons would be withdrawn from the ^{12 Q. B. D.} _{283.} ordinary course of criminal justice.'

(c) *Power of inflicting punishment for breach of Privilege.*

The House is invested, as we have seen, with the exclusive power of regulating its own procedure and adjudging matters which arise within its walls. It follows, that the House must possess some power of enforcing its privileges in this respect, and of punishing those who infringe them.

Commit-
ment.

The common mode of punishment is by commitment to prison in the custody of the Serjeant-at-arms; and the offences for which such punishment is inflicted may be generally described as disrespect to any member of the House, as such, by a person not being a member; disrespect to the House collectively, whether committed by a member or any other; disobedience to orders of the House, or interference with its procedure.

Fine.

In former times the House of Commons has imposed fines for breaches of privilege, but the practice has long been discontinued, except in so far as the payment of fees as a condition precedent to release from imprisonment partakes of the nature of a fine¹.

Expulsion.

In the case of its own members, the House has a stronger mode of expressing its displeasure. It can by resolution expel a member, and order the Speaker to issue his warrant for a new writ for the seat from which the member has been expelled. But it cannot prevent the re-election of such a member by declaring him incapable of sitting in that Parliament. In attempting to do this, in the case of Wilkes, the House had ultimately to admit that it could not create a disqualification unrecognised by law².

But expulsion is a private matter, affecting the composition of the House itself, and amounts to no more than an expression of opinion that the person expelled is unfit to be a member of the House of Commons. The imposition of a fine would be an idle process unless backed by the power of commit-

¹ May, Parl. Practice, 114.

² Parl. Hist. xxii. 1407.

ment. It is, then, the right of commitment which becomes, in the words of Sir E. May, 'the keystone of Parliamentary privilege.' It remains to consider how it is exercised and by what right.

The officer of the House for the purpose of these proceedings for contempt is the Serjeant-at-arms. The mode of his appointment has been already described, and his duties and the way in which they are discharged.

When a person is summoned to the bar of the House, he may purge himself of his contempt by an apology, or he may be let off with a reprimand, or he may be committed to prison; or, in the case of a flagrant contempt, the person guilty may be committed to prison without being previously brought into the presence of the House or given an opportunity of apologising.

But the power of the House to punish in this manner is limited by the duration of the Session; prorogation releases prisoners committed by its order, whether or no they have paid their fees. The House cannot therefore imprison for any fixed term; if it did so, and a prorogation occurred before the conclusion of the term, the prisoner would be entitled to a discharge by a writ of *habeas corpus*.

The origin of this power of commitment for contempt has been variously stated.

It has been claimed for the House as a right inherent in every Court of Record; but there is much discussion as to whether the House is or is not a Court of Record.

In the argument in the case of Fortescue and Goodwin, and in the debate on Floyde's case, the House vehemently contended that it was a Court of Record¹, and in the last instance was supported by the opinion of Coke, whose speech is reported: 'No question but this a House of Record, and hath power of judicature in some cases. Have power to judge of Returns and Members of our House²'.

But if the House rests its claim on this ground, the claim

¹ 1 Com. Jour. 604.

² Ibid.

has been abandoned with the abandonment of the right to determine controverted elections. It might be said that the Journals of the House are records, and this also was maintained by Lord Coke. He rested his argument on the words of the Act of Henry VIII, which requires license or leave of absence given to a member 'to be entered of Record in the book of the Clerk of the House.' But it is doubtful whether the word 'record' is there used in a technical sense.

The Journals of the House, which are prepared by the clerk of the House from entries of the proceedings made by him daily, perused by the Speaker, and then printed for the use of members, are expressly declared by Lord Mansfield *not* to be matter of record. The *dictum* is *obiter*, but may fairly be set off against the statements of Coke, of which one is made in debate, the other in the posthumous volume of the Institutes.

It is noticeable that in the case of *Burdett v. Abbott*, while Bayley J. rests the claim of the House to commit on its parity of position with Courts of Judicature, Lord Ellenborough C. J. rests his decision on the broader ground of expediency, and the necessity of such a power for the maintenance of the dignity of the House. 'If there were no precedents upon the subject, no legislative recognition, no practice or opinions in the Courts of Law recognizing such an authority, it would still be essentially necessary to the Houses of Parliament to have it; indeed, they would sink into utter contempt and inefficiency without it. Could it be expected that they should stand high in the estimation and reverence of the people, if, whenever they were insulted, they were obliged to await the comparatively slow proceedings of the ordinary Courts of Law for their redress? That the Speaker, with his mace, should be under the necessity of going before a grand jury to prefer a bill of indictment for the insult offered to the House? They certainly must have the power of self-vindication in their hands: and if there be any authority in the recorded precedents of Parliament, any force in the recognition of the

^{6 Hen.}
^{VIII. c. 16.}

^{1 Cowp. 17.}

^{14 East,}
^{152.}
That the
right is
needed to
maintain
its dignity.

Legislature, and in the decisions of the Courts of Law, they ^{14 East,}
 have such a power.^{152.}

- On the whole, it would seem that the right of committal finds a surer basis on the necessity of such a power for the maintenance of the dignity of the House, than on any technicality as to the House being a Court of Record.

§ 4. *Limitation of Privilege by Courts of Law.*

The Privileges of Parliament, like the Prerogative of the Crown, are rights conferred by Law, and as such their limits are ascertainable and determinable, like the limits of other rights, by the Courts of Law. They consist, in fact, of rights acquired by custom or conferred by Statute, belonging to the House collectively, or to its members as individuals, and having for their object the freedom, the security, or the dignity of the House of Commons. Cases have arisen in which the House has set up claims which the Courts have been compelled to consider.

(1) The House has asserted that it is the sole judge of the extent of its privileges. The practical result of this assertion is that the House has declared certain acts, legal in themselves, to be breaches of privilege, or certain acts, unlawful in themselves, to be legalised by its declaration of privilege.

To this the Courts have made reply, that when privilege conflicts with rights which they have it in charge to maintain, they will consider whether the alleged privilege is authentic, and whether it governs the case before them.

From the mass of learning and argument lavished upon this topic, it will be enough to select three cases and to state shortly their results as illustrating the law.

In *Ashby v. White* an action was brought by an elector for the borough of Aylesbury against a returning officer who had refused to allow him to give a vote to which he was legally entitled.

The right to vote was not in question, only the right to sue for the refusal to allow the voter the exercise of his legal right.

Ashby v.
White.

The Commons resolved that 'neither the qualification of any elector, nor the right of any person elected, is cognizable or determinable elsewhere than before the Commons of England in Parliament assembled'; and they further resolved that Ashby was guilty of a breach of privilege in bringing his action in a Common Law Court.

The confusion of ideas which brought about this resolution was curious. The House of Commons had, beyond doubt, the right to determine the validity of an election; and, incidentally, the qualification of the voters by whom the election was made. The Court of Queen's Bench had, equally beyond doubt, the right to try an action for withholding a Common Law right, such as the franchise, from a man entitled to it.

The Court could not determine, and did not profess to determine, any matter which would affect the validity of an election. It had to inquire into the right of the plaintiff to give a vote, but it would only enter into this inquiry in order to ascertain if the plaintiff had a cause of action.

The House of Commons could have given the plaintiff no remedy; he could only have obtained its decision on his right to vote, by calling in question the validity of the election. As the candidate for whom he would have voted was elected, he had no inducement to do this; and, if he had done so, the only redress which he might have thereby obtained would have been the committal of the returning officer for contempt. 'Was ever such a petition heard of in Parliament,' said Holt, C. J. 'as that a man was hindered of his vote, and praying them to give him a remedy? The Parliament would ^{1 Sm. L. C.} undoubtedly say, Take your remedy at law. It is not like a ^{281.} case of determining an election between the candidates.'

The Queen's Bench decided against the right of action; on writ of error this judgment was reversed in the House of Lords; there ensued a long altercation between the Houses,

into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter, and the matter was ended by a prorogation.

In *Stockdale v. Hansard* the House ordered the publication of matter defamatory of the plaintiff; the defendant set up two defences, that the statements complained of were true, and that, if they were not, the order of the House privileged the publication.

Lord Denman, in trying the case, told the jury that he was 'not aware of the existence in this country of any body whatever that can privilege any servant of theirs to publish libels of any individual.' The jury found for the defendants that the statements alleged to be defamatory were true. But the Commons took offence at the manner in which Lord Denman had dealt with the question of privilege, and passed resolutions, the effect of which has thus been summarised by an eminent authority¹.

'(1) That the order of the House of Commons affords a justification for the sale of any papers whatever which they may think fit to circulate.

'(2) That no Court of Justice has jurisdiction to discuss or decide any question of Parliamentary privilege which arises before it, directly or incidentally.

'(3) That the vote of the House of Commons declaring its privilege, is binding upon all Courts of Justice in which the question may arise.'

Other actions were brought by Stockdale against the Messrs. Hansard, and the House resolved that its printers should plead to the action, but in such a way as to rest their defence on the ground of privilege only. On demurrer to this plea, the Court of Queen's Bench supported Lord Denman's statement of the law.

The points for determination were clearly set forth in the judgment of Patterson J.

¹ Mr. Pemberton, afterwards Lord Kingsdown, in his 'Letter to Lord Langdale on the recent proceedings in the House of Commons on the subject of Privilege,' p. 17.

Judgment
of Patter-
son, J.

'First: Whether an action at law will lie in any case for any act whatever admitted to have been done by the order and authority of the House of Commons.'

'Secondly: Whether a resolution of the House of Commons declaring that it had power to do the act complained of, precludes this Court from inquiring into the legality of that act.'

'Thirdly: If such resolution does not preclude the Court from inquiring, then whether the act complained of be legal or not.'

Order of
House no
defence to
illegal act.

On the first point the learned judge had no difficulty in holding that, though no action could lie against a member of the House for things done in the House, yet that if the thing done was an illegal order, the privileges of the House would not shelter those who carried that illegal order into effect outside the House. Nor had he any hesitation in holding that, if the second question were answered in the negative, the act complained of was illegal.

Resolution
of House
no bar to
inquiry by
Court.

The bulk of his argument was addressed to the question whether the resolution of the House was a bar to inquiry by a Court of Law into the legality of the acts which it had ordered: in other words, Could the House prohibit by resolution the Courts of Law from discussing the legality of any act which it might choose to command?

'Upon the whole, the true doctrine appears to me to be this: that every Court in which an action is brought upon a subject matter generally and *prima facie* within its jurisdiction, and in which, by the course of the proceedings in that action, the powers and privileges and jurisdiction of another Court come into question, must of necessity determine as to the extent of those powers, privileges, and jurisdiction: that the decisions of that Court, whose powers, privileges, and jurisdiction are so brought into question, as to their extent, are authorities; and, if I may so say, evidences in law upon the subject, but not conclusive. In the present case, therefore, both upon principle and authority, I conceive that this Court is not precluded by the resolution of the House of Commons

of May, 1837, from inquiring into the legality of the act complained of, although we are bound to treat that resolution with all possible respect, and not by any means to come to a decision contrary to that resolution, unless we find ourselves compelled to do so by the law of the land, gathered from the principles of the common law, so far as they are applicable to the case, and from the authority of decided cases, and the judgments of our predecessors, if any be found, which bear upon the question.'

Stockdale
v. Hansard.
9 A. & E.
203.

And, after dwelling on the importance of maintaining all such privileges as are necessary for the protection of the House of Commons, he thus concludes his judgment. 'But *power*, and especially the power of invading the rights of others, is a very different thing ; it is to be regarded not with tenderness, but with jealousy ; and unless the legality of it be most clearly established, those who act under it must be answerable for the consequences. The onus of showing the existence and legality of the power now claimed, lies upon the defendants : it appears to me, after a full and anxious consideration of the authorities adduced by the Attorney-General in his learned argument, and after much reflection on the subject, that they have entirely failed to do so.'

Without accepting as finally satisfactory the distinction between 'power' and 'privilege' drawn by the learned judge, it is not difficult to see and to accept his view of the nature of privilege. He regards it as a defensive and not an aggressive weapon lodged with the House, and holds that to justify its use for the purpose of legalising a libel, more ample authority was required than the Attorney-General was able to produce.

The character of the difficulties which arose between the House and the Courts is identical in each of these cases. In *Ashby v. White*, the Commons thought that if the Court of Queen's Bench tried an action brought by an elector against a returning officer for refusing to allow him to vote, their right to determine disputed returns was being infringed.

In *Stockdale v. Hansard*, they thought that if the same Court tried an action for libellous matter contained in a report made to them pursuant to a Statute, and published by their order, their right to the regulation of their own proceedings was being infringed.

In each case, when the House became aware that the application of its privilege to the matter in hand conflicted with rules of law, it seems in an impulse of annoyance to have asserted a right to define its own privileges in such terms as to override rules of law.

In *Ashby v. White*, the House found itself in conflict with the jurisdiction in error of the House of Lords, and a prorogation alone could avert the collision of the two Houses. In *Stockdale v. Hansard*, the House found it prudent to concur in the passing of an Act, by which publications ordered by Parliament were protected from the law relating to defamation.

It remains to consider a case in which there was no such conflict of jurisdictions as in the two to which I have just referred.

^{12 Q. B. D.} _{281.} In the recent case of *Bradlaugh v. Gossett*, the validity of a resolution of the House of Commons, relating to matters confined within the walls of the House, was called in question by the plaintiff, and the issue raised was, on this occasion, free from all circumstances of irritation. It was stated with the utmost clearness by Stephen J.: ‘Suppose that the House of Commons forbids one of its members to do that which an Act of Parliament requires him to do, and in order to enforce its prohibition, directs its executive officer to exclude him from the House by force, if necessary—is such an order one which we can declare to be void, and restrain the executive officer of the House from carrying out?’

The distinction between the cases in which Courts of Law consider that the House is alone interested in the matter in hand and those in which rights external to the House are involved, is very clearly furnished by the cir-

cumstances of the case; and in the judgment of Stephen J. Relation of
‘A resolution of the House, permitting Mr. Bradlaugh to Courts to
take his seat on making a statutory declaration, would cer- Privilege.
tainly never have been interfered with by this Court. If we had been moved to declare it void and to restrain Mr. Bradlaugh from taking his seat until he had taken the oath, we should undoubtedly have refused to do so. On the other hand, if the House had resolved ever so decidedly that Mr. Bradlaugh was entitled to make the statutory declaration instead of taking the oath, *and had attempted by resolution or otherwise to protect him against an action for penalties*, it would have been our duty to disregard such a resolution, and if an action for penalties were brought, to hear and determine it according to our own interpretation of the Statute . . . We should have said that, for the purpose of determining a right to be exercised within the House itself, and in particular the right of sitting and voting, the House, and the House only, could interpret the Statute; *but that as regarded rights to be exercised out of and independently of the House, such as the right of suing for a penalty for having sat and voted, the Statute must be interpreted by this Court independently of the House.*’

On the whole, it seems now to be clearly settled that the Courts will not be deterred from upholding private rights by the fact that questions of Parliamentary privilege are involved in their maintenance; and that, except as regards the internal regulation of its proceedings by the House, Courts of Law will not hesitate to inquire into alleged privilege, as they would into local custom, and determine its extent and application.

(2) But there is another point on which Courts of Law Need grounds of
have come into contact with the House of Commons. It commit-
relates to the right of committal for contempt. The question ment ap-
is shortly this: whether, if a person, so committed, obtains a pear
writ of habeas corpus, it is a sufficient return to the writ that the committal was by a warrant, issued in pursuance of an

² Lord
Raymond,
1105.

on a re-
turn to
habeas
corpus.

order of the House of Commons, when the warrant for committal did not specify any other grounds than contempt. In *Paty's case*, in 1705, the Court of Queen's Bench held that it was sufficient return to a writ of *habeas corpus*, that the prisoner was committed for contempt, although the contempt alleged was that Paty, one of those aggrieved by the conduct of the returning officers for Aylesbury, had brought an action against them, as in *Ashby's case* the Court had already held that he was entitled to do. Holt C.J. dissented from this judgment, and though he was in a minority, I shall state hereafter some reasons for thinking that his view was the correct one.

² Wils. 299. In *Murray's case* (1751), the return to the writ alleged contempt simply, and the King's Bench held that 'it need not appear what the contempt was, for if it did appear we could not judge thereof.' Like law is laid down by Lord ¹⁴ East, 1. *Ellenborough* in the case of *Burdett v. Abbott*, and in the case ¹¹ Ad. & E. of the Sheriff of Middlesex; and the matter is put most clearly in the question laid before the judges by Lord Eldon, ⁵ Dow. 199. when *Burdett v. Abbott* came before the House of Lords for decision. He asked them whether, if the Court of Common Pleas had committed for contempt, stating no other cause on the warrant, or the circumstances of the contempt, and the matter came before the Court of King's Bench on the return to a writ of *habeas corpus*, the latter Court 'would discharge the prisoner, because the particular facts and circumstances out of which the contempt arose, were not set forth in the warrant.' The judges unanimously answered that it would not do so, and the House of Lords thereupon decided for the plaintiff.

The case of *Burdett v. Abbott* did not arise, like the previous cases, upon a return to a writ of *habeas corpus*, but in an action of trespass brought against the Speaker for causing the plaintiff's house to be broken and entered, and himself to be carried to the Tower and kept there. But it is clear that, whether or no the House of Commons is a court of record,

it has not only the same power of protecting itself from insult by commitment for contempt, but that the Superior Courts of Law have dealt with it in this matter as they would with one another, and have accepted as conclusive its statement that a contempt has been committed, without asking what that contempt may have been.

Nevertheless, if the alleged contempt be expressed in the warrant, it is possible that a Court of Law might consider the commitment on its merits. Thus, Lord Ellenborough, in *Burdett v. Abbott*, states the law : 'If a commitment appeared to be for a contempt of the House of Commons generally, I would neither in the case of that Court, nor of any other of the Superior Courts, inquire further ; but if it did not profess to commit for contempt, but for some matter appearing on the return, which could by no reasonable intendment be considered as a contempt of the Court committing, but a ground of commitment palpably arbitrary, unjust, and contrary to every principle of natural justice ; I say that in case of such a commitment... we must look at it and act upon it as justice may require, *from whatever Court it may profess to have proceeded.*'

And thus it is possible that the opinion of Holt C.J. in Paty's case, may have been the better one, and that if a contempt were alleged to consist in the exercise of a legal right, a Court of Law might 'act upon it as justice may require.'

CHAPTER VI.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

We have so far dealt with that part of the legislature which is brought into existence by popular election taking place in pursuance of a writ of summons from the Crown. We now come to deal with that part which depends for its existence on royal writs addressed to its individual members.

Peerage
not identi-
cal with
Lords of
Parlia-
ment.

But we are apt to speak of the Lords of Parliament or of the House of Lords as though these were convertible terms with the Peerage, forgetting that the political functions and privileges of a peer who is also a Lord of Parliament are not summed up in his right to a place in an hereditary legislative body, and that the Peerage is not conterminous with the House of Lords.

Lords of
Parlia-
ment who
are not
Peers.

That the Peerage and the House of Lords do not mean the same thing is easily shown. For it would seem to be of the essence of the Peerage that it should carry with it hereditary right; such hereditary right is wanting not only to the Bishops but also to the Lords of Appeal, yet Bishops and Lords of Appeal are entitled to be summoned to the House of Lords.

Peers who
are not
Lords of
Parlia-
ment.

Again, the peerage before the Union with Scotland was the peerage of the realm of England: after the Union it became the peerage of the kingdom of Great Britain, but as many of the peers of Great Britain as were such in virtue of being peers of Scotland did not become Lords of Parliament unless they were in the number of the sixteen representative peers. After the Union with Ireland the peerage

became that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but again such as belonged to this body as peers of Ireland did not become Lords of Parliament unless they were in the number of the twenty-eight representative peers¹.

It follows therefore that there are Lords of Parliament who are not Peers, and Peers who are not Lords of Parliament. There are certain functions and attributes common to Peers who are Lords of Parliament and to Peers who are not. These may be distinguished in the Lords' report on the dignity of the peerage, where peers are described :—‘First as possessing Functions
of Peerage. individually titles of honour giving them respectively rank and precedence ; secondly, as being individually hereditary counsellors of the crown ; thirdly, as being collectively (together with the Spiritual Lords), when not assembled in Parliament, the permanent council of the crown ; fourthly, as being also collectively (together with the Spiritual Lords), *when assembled in Parliament*, a Court of Judicature ; and fifthly, as having for a long time formed with the Commons, *when convened in Parliament*, the Legislative Assembly of the kingdom by whose advice, consent and authority, with the sanction of the Crown, all laws have been made².’

It might be proper to limit our consideration of the peerage Reason
for dealing
with non-
Parliamen-
tary func-
tions. to its functions as a branch of the legislature, reserving an account of its other functions for other parts of the subject to which they might seem more appropriate. The right of the peers to rank and precedence would come to be dealt with under the head of the Prerogative of the Crown as the ‘fountain of honour,’ their rights as councillors of the Crown might find a place under the head of the Royal Councils, and their judicial powers must unquestionably be considered in detail when hereafter it is necessary to describe the constitution of the Courts of Justice.

It is, however, as members of a legislature, either actual, as in the case of the Lords spiritual and the Lords temporal of

¹ Lords' Third Report on Dignity of the Peerage, p. 34.

² Lords' First Report on Dignity of the Peerage, p. 14.

the United kingdom, or potential, as in the case of the Scotch and Irish peers, who may be chosen as representatives of their respective branches of the peerage, that a peer enjoys these privileges other than rank or precedence. The Crown may confer a mere dignity by making a man a peer for life, but such an honour has been held to be wanting in those attributes which give most value to a peerage, inasmuch as it does not carry with it the right to sit and vote as a Lord of Parliament, except in the case of the Lords of Appeal, who are by Statute exempt from the disabilities of a life peerage. So it may be convenient in treating of the House of Lords to consider the privileges and duties of peers generally as well as the constitution and privileges of the House of Lords.

Qualifications for House of Lords.

First then let us ask, of what persons does the House of Lords consist? can we classify the Lords of Parliament? There are five kinds of qualification for membership of the House of Lords, and the 'Lords Spiritual and Temporal' consist of—

- (1) Hereditary peers of the United Kingdom :
- (2) Hereditary peers who are not hereditary Lords of Parliament—
 - (a) The 16 representative peers of Scotland elected for each Parliament,
 - (b) The 28 representative peers of Ireland elected for life :
- (3) Life peers who are Lords of Parliament conditionally on the discharge of certain functions—
 - (a) The 26 spiritual peers,
 - (b) The two lords of appeal.

§ 1. The Baronage as an estate of the realm.

Origin of baronage.

Such is the present constitution of the House of Lords. But it is necessary to ask not only how these different kinds of qualification arose, but how the entire body of the House comes to exist as an independent branch of the legislature representing an estate of the realm.

The Witan of the Saxon kings comprised, at any rate, the

earls and bishops. The temporal office of the one, the spiritual office of the other, conferred a right to be present at the great council of the realm. After the Norman Conquest the earl lost, to a great extent, his official position. Nor did the bishop ^{Feudalising of great Council.} any longer hold his lands free of all but spiritual service. In the words of Dr. Stubbs, 'the earldoms became fiefs instead of magistracies, and even the bishops had to accept the status of barons'¹. Attendance at the king's court became a liability rather than a right, a liability arising out of tenure². We can consider later whether the bishop is summoned in right of his spiritual office or on the liability of his temporal barony. The earls created after the Conquest were few: nor was it the policy of the Norman and Angevin kings to retain the great territorial offices of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. But when the baronage appears in the reign of Edward, as an estate of the realm summoned in a special form to a deliberative assembly distinct from the Commons, it consisted of many persons besides earls and bishops, and we are met by the difficulty of ascertaining how this body was constituted and what were its distinctive characteristics. When John promised that he would never exact any aid other than the three feudal aids unless with the assent of the common council of the realm, that council was described as consisting of persons whose right to be present was wholly dependent upon their position as tenants in chief of the Crown. The assembly was divided into two groups, and of one group each member received a special summons. Some members of this group are easily distinguishable from all the members of the other: the archbishops, bishops, abbots and earls. Besides these come the 'majores barones,' and where ^{The majores barones of the Charter.} all alike depended for their right to be present on holding lands of the Crown, it is not easy to say what constituted the difference between the *majores barones* specially summoned and the *minores barones* and other tenants in chief summoned in 'generali.' It may have been greater extent of possessions, or greater political influence, or a longer line of descent.

¹ Const. Hist. i. 364.

² Ibid. i. 270.

So far as the assembly of John is concerned its only importance to us lies in the conclusion to which it leads us, that, since the right to be present depended in all cases upon tenure, the distinction between the *majores barones* and the *minores barones* could not have rested on the fact that the former held of the Crown.

The baronage of Edward I This conclusion is important when I come to ask what gave a right of summons to the assembly of the baronage in the constitution of Edward I. The right of representation in the House of Commons of 1295 most certainly did not depend upon the holding lands of the Crown. Did then the right of summons to the House of Lords depend upon such holding? Or I may put the question in this way: Apart from the earls and bishops, was the estate of the baronage limited to such persons as held of the crown on baronial tenure, and did such tenure confer a right to be summoned? There are in fact three possibilities as to the relation of the estate of the baronage to tenure. The king might have been bound to summon all who held of him 'per baroniam,' and none other: he might have been free to select for summons whom he chose within the limits of those who held on such a tenure; or his discretion as to the summons might have been unlimited.

did not rest on tenure, Amid the historical difficulties of the question it seems to be made out clearly that the particular holding which carried with it the feudal obligations of a barony, the holding of thirteen knights fees and a third, did not place the holder among *majores barones*: and the Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Dignity of a Peer came to the conclusion that Edward I summoned to Parliament by special writ some persons who had not baronies in this sense, and that many who were in possession of such baronies were not summoned¹.

but on summons; The practical outcome of a difficult and obscure portion of our Constitutional History seems to be that, at any rate from the time of Edward I, the king used his discretion in respect of the

¹ Third Report on the Dignity of the Peerage, p. 26.

special summons by writ: that as a matter of fact those summoned were usually, though not invariably, tenants of the crown and tenants of baronies: but that persons were summoned who not only were not tenants of baronies but were not tenants of the crown at all¹. The estate of the baronage was constituted and defined by the exercise of the royal prerogative in issuing the writ of summons.

In one respect the discretion of the crown was subject to an important limitation. A writ of summons conferred a right to be summoned upon the heirs of the first recipient of the writ, if only he had obeyed it and taken his seat. The date from which a writ of summons operates in this way so as to create an hereditary peerage has been variously stated. Lord Redesdale in the L'Isle case seems to fix it at the fifth year of the reign of Richard II. Mr. Hallam would place it later². Bishop Stubbs tells us that it is convenient to adopt the year 1295 as the era from which the baron whose ancestor has once been summoned and has once sat in Parliament can claim an hereditary right to be so summoned³. Professor Freeman thinks that Dr. Stubbs fixes the date a little too rigidly, and says, 'One may certainly doubt whether Edward I, when he summoned a baron to parliament meant positively to pledge himself to summon that baron's heirs for ever and ever, or even necessarily to summon the baron himself to every future parliament. The facts are the other way: the summons for a while still remains irregular. But the perpetual summons, the hereditary summons, gradually became the rule, and that rule may in a certain sense be said to date from 1295. That is, from that time the tendency is to the perpetual summons, to the hereditary summons; from that time anything else gradually becomes exceptional; things had reached a point when the lawyers were sure before long to lay down the rule that a single summons implied a perpetual and an hereditary summons⁴'.

¹ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii. 128.

² *Const. Hist.* ii.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 125.

⁴ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Tit. *Peerage*.

§ 2. Legal difficulties in defining the estate of the baronage.

Difficulties from mode of creation; The Parliamentary baron acquired his rank and his right to vote by mere writ of summons followed by the taking of his seat; the earl was created by formal investiture with the sword, frequently in Parliament, and he received a charter, or later a patent, declaring the dignity conferred upon him and limiting its devolution. As the other ranks of the peerage were called into existence the grant was in like manner evidenced by charter or patent, and Richard II conferred a barony in this manner. The practice was not repeated in the case of baronies until the reign of Henry VI, but after this it became the usual mode of creating Parliamentary baronies as well as other ranks in the peerage, and tended greatly to simplify questions which from time to time arose as to the rights to disputed peerages.

from connection with tenure. For the patent was evidence of title and indicated the line in which the peerage was to descend, usually to the heirs male of the grantee of the patent; while the titles of baronies which depended upon the writ of summons were complicated, not merely by the greater difficulty of proof, and by the fact that they passed to heirs lineal, and were not limited to the male line, but undoubtedly by the fact that for a long time an impression prevailed that they were connected with the holding of land, and hence that they might be dealt with like so much landed property¹.

From this connection, right or wrong, of barony with tenure some curious results arose.

Prynne tells us², but without giving authority for the statement, that baronies by tenure were alienated by sales and gifts 'whereby the former barons, only by tenure, were no more summoned after such alienations, but the new tenants

¹ We may note the effect, in confirming the idea that baronies were by tenure, of the position of the mitred abbots who asked to be excused attendance on the ground that they did not hold baronies in the sense of land baronies. Stubbs, Const. Hist. iii. 443.

² Brief Register, p. 239.

who purchased or possessed them.' It may not be easy to find proof of Prynne's general assertion, but at any rate there seems no doubt that holders of baronies exercised a power of limitation so as to exclude heirs general in favour of a particular line of descent. Thus William Baron Berkeley in the reign of Henry VII, having barred the entail of the castle, lands and other hereditaments, including as was considered at the time, the Parliamentary barony, settled the same on King Henry VII, in tail male with remainder to his own right heirs; the Parliamentary barony thereupon remained in abeyance until the death of Edward VI, when the heirs male of Henry VII failed and the remainder took effect in favour of the great-grandson of William's brother, who was then summoned to Parliament in right of the barony.

Again, until the reign of Henry VIII a commoner marrying the heiress of a baronage became entitled to a writ of summons during her life. Henry VIII thought it objectionable that 'a dignity should shift from the husband on the death of the wife,' but until the decision in the *Willoughby* peerage case it was still held that a tenancy by the courtesy in a peerage might exist during the minority of the heir.

Again it seems to have been thought that a barony, like land, could be surrendered to the crown, if not by simple deed, or act of surrender, at any rate by the process of levying a fine. It is impossible that this conception of a Parliamentary barony as a thing which passed and could be dealt with like land, should not have grown out of a close connection between tenure and the right or liability to be summoned to attend the great councils of the kingdom. And the practices above mentioned have ceased to be any longer lawful, not in consequence of any statute, or of any formulation of rules relating to the peerage by the House of Lords, but as a result of the gradual establishment of custom by a series of resolutions or decisions of the House of Lords on disputed peerages: for as Lord Campbell has said, 'It is now fully settled that the law of the peerage of England depends entirely upon usage, both

Alienation
of baronies.

Tenancy
by the
courtesy.

Collins,
P. II.

Surrender
of baronies.

8 H. L. C. as to the power of the Crown and as to any claim that may be
79. made by a subject.'

Effect of 17th century decisions. The seventeenth century, and especially the latter part of the
seventeenth century, may be looked upon as the period when the customs of the Peerage were defined and reduced to the

form in which they appear in modern text-books. And this was done by resolutions of the House passed independently of reference from the Crown, or decisions of the House upon cases submitted for its consideration by the Crown.

Collins,
306. Thus in 1640 the House resolved in the *Purbeck* case that a peerage could not be alienated or surrendered to the Crown, and in 1678 that a peer could not divest himself of his barony by the process of suffering a fine¹.

Collins,
256. In 1670 it was held in the *Ruthyn* case that title to a peerage must originate in matter of record; that is, by writ or by a succession of writs or by patent. Such a decision would mean that the House would not accept the fact of the seat having been taken, or a ceremonial having been passed through unless supported by documentary evidence of a certain sort.

Collins,
292. In 1673 it was held in the *Clifton* case that a man to whom a writ of summons is issued, and who in pursuance thereof takes his seat in Parliament acquires thereby an hereditary peerage.

In 1677 comes the important decision in the case of the barony of *Freshville* that a Parliamentary barony is not constituted by the mere receipt of a writ of summons nor is the blood of the holder ennobled thereby². Proof must be given that the summons was obeyed and the seat taken in order to perfect the title to the barony.

19th century decisions.
Life Peerages. Two questions remained to be settled on the subject of the law of the peerage, and these were settled in very recent times. The power of the Crown to create peers for life with a right not merely to possess rank, precedence, and the other attributes of peerage, but to sit and vote as Lords of Parliament, was called in question in the year 1858 in the *Wensleydale* Peerage case. It was then held that the Crown had no such power.

¹ *Lords' Rep.* iii. 43.

² *Ibid.* iii. 47.

The right of a subject to claim a writ of summons in virtue of the holding of certain lands was raised and adjudicated upon in 1861 in the *Berkeley* Peerage case, when the question of the existence of baronies by tenure was finally set at rest.

So far I have tried to show how the baronage came to be an estate of the realm and a separate House of Parliament, and to point out the legal difficulties which have sprung from the customary and indeterminate character of its origin. We now come to consider:—What are the limits on the right of the Crown to create peers;—what are the limits on the right of the Crown to summon peers;—what disqualifications may prevent a peer, duly created and properly summoned, from sitting and voting;—what there is individual or characteristic about the mode of creation or of summons in the case of each of the classes of peers enumerated on a preceding page;—what are the privileges of the House collectively or of its members individually.

§ 3. *Real or supposed restrictions on Creation.*

With regard to restrictions on the Crown's right to create peers, one may say that the right to confer the dignity of the peerage is, as to the United Kingdom, unlimited; as to the Scotch and Irish peerage it is limited by the Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland. There is, however, some uncertainty as to the sort of estate in a dignity which the Crown may legally confer. And until the question of the legal existence of baronies by tenure was set at rest it was not absolutely certain that the holder of such a supposed dignity might not transfer it at his pleasure and so, to that extent, encroach on the royal prerogative of creating peers.

Let us take first the recognised limitations imposed by the Acts of Union.

The Act of Union with Scotland provides that the peerage of Scotland shall after that Act be the peerage of Great Britain, and makes no provision for any increase of the Union.

Scotch peers. Scotch peerage, or for the maintenance of its numbers at their then existing figure. It would follow that if the Queen made a new peer of Scotland he would not be admitted to vote at the election of Scotch representative peers. Indeed an Act of the present reign takes away the right to vote in respect of any peerage in virtue of which the vote has not been exercised since 1800.

Irish peers. The Act of Union with Ireland provides that the Crown may make one peer of Ireland for every three that become extinct after the Union until the number fall to 100, and that the number of Irish peers not entitled by the possession of other peerages to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom shall never fall below 100.

Permissible limitations of peerages, The Crown therefore cannot create a peer of Scotland; and can only create a peer of Ireland under the circumstances defined in the Act of Union with Ireland. We now come to the doubtful question of the right of the Crown to create peerages with limitations which would not be admissible in the case of grants other than those of dignities.

2 Dow & Cl. 200. In the *Devon* peerage case it was held that a grant of an earldom made to a man and *his heirs male* was good, a grant differing from an estate tail in the absence of words of procreation and from an estate in fee by reason of the restriction as to sex. In the *Wiltes* claim of peerage it was held that a similar grant was bad. There were other reasons for holding that the claimant in the *Wiltes* case could not sustain his claim, for William le Scrope the first Earl of *Wiltes* was alleged to have forfeited his earldom, upon his execution, in the troubles which ended in the dethronement of Richard II. But Lord Chelmsford seems to express a strong opinion that the grant was bad. He asks 'whether it is competent to the Crown to give to a dignity a descendible quality unknown to the law, and thereby to introduce a new species of inheritance and succession?' and adds, 'the question put in this way seems to answer itself. The Crown can have no such power unless there is something so peculiar in a dignity,

**L.R. iv.
H.L. 126.**

so entirely within the province of the Crown to mould at its pleasure, that a limitation void as to every other subject of grant is good and valid in the creation of a peerage. No one has pushed the argument to this extravagant length, and yet, if any one limitation which the law prohibits in a grant of property may be applied by the Crown to the grant of a dignity, it is difficult to see how you can stop short of holding that there is no restriction upon the Crown's establishing any order of succession to a dignity, however novel and extraordinary.'

It must be admitted that the rule as to the possible limitations and the descent of dignities is by no means clear. Lord Chelmsford denies the right of the Crown to create by patent any limitation of a dignity which would not be permissible in the case of real estate. And this must be taken with the further restriction mentioned by Coke, that a man or woman might be ennobled for life but not for years, because then such a dignity might pass to executors or administrators; it would in fact be personality.

But it is difficult to see why the Crown should be restricted in creations by patent if the creation by writ is found to confer an estate unknown to the law in the case of realty. And that such an estate is conferred by writ seems clear from the words of Coke, who says that a writ of summons confers on the person summoned 'a fee simple in the barony without words of inheritance.' Such an estate would be to the grantee and his heirs general subject to the condition of taking his seat: but he qualifies this statement almost immediately by saying that 'thereby his blood is ennobled to him and his heirs lineal.' Cruise commenting on these dicta of Coke says, 'a person having a dignity by writ is not tenant in fee simple of it, for in that case it would descend to heirs general, whether lineal or collateral, of the person last seized; whereas a dignity of this description is only inheritable by such heirs as are lineally descended from the person first summoned to Parliament and not to any other heirs.

It is in fact a species of estate not known to the law in any other instance except that of an office of honour¹.

Nature of estate in dignity by writ. It would seem then that a dignity conferred by writ of summons and not expressly limited by an accompanying patent is like a *donatio conditionalis* such as the Statute of Westminster II was intended to perpetuate, or that it is an estate tail created without words of limitation and incapable of being barred. If, as seems tolerably clear, the Crown could at the present day create a barony by writ², it can create such an estate in a dignity as the law would not recognize in the case of land and can thereby 'give to a dignity a descendible quality unknown to the law.' With submission it may be questioned whether Lord Chelmsford's reasoning in this part of his judgment in the Wiltes' peerage case is well founded.

Baronies by tenure; It remains to consider the vexed question of baronies by tenure, which, if they could be held to exist, would encroach upon the exclusive prerogative of the Crown to summon whom it will to its Councils and to the Lords House of Parliament. But the question has been decided adversely to the validity of such baronies in the *Berkeley* peerage case.

The *Berkeley* peerage case came to be decided in 1861, upon a reference by the Crown to the House of Lords of a petition of Sir Maurice *Berkeley* to the Queen to be declared Baron of *Berkeley* and to receive a writ of summons to Parliament.

grounds of claim. The ground of the petition was that Sir Maurice was for the time being entitled to the castle and lands constituting what had been the territorial barony of *Berkeley*; and it may be said shortly, that in order to prove his case the petitioner had to show, first, that the right to a writ of summons had shifted with the right to the castle and lands of *Berkeley*,

¹ *Cruise, on Dignities*, p. 100.

² *Hansard*, vol. 140, p. 331. Lord Campbell says 'the writ without the patent is conclusive evidence of an intention to create a barony in fee which is clearly within the prerogative of the crown.' It is presumed that the 'fee' must be understood with the limitations cited from Coke on the previous page.

and secondly that it had shifted in such a way as to make a precedent for the disposition by will of a barony by tenure.

As to the first point the petitioner was able to make out a case. There were two settlements of the castle and territorial barony of Berkeley by which it might be alleged that the Parliamentary barony had been allowed to pass to the person for the time entitled under the settlement.

Of these settlements the first took place in the reign of First Edward III, when Thomas, Lord Berkeley, with licence from ^{settlement} of barony. the Crown, settled the castle and lands constituting the territorial barony upon himself for life with remainder to his son Maurice in tail male. The result of this settlement was that when, in the third generation, male heirs failed in the direct line of descent, not only the lands but the writ of summons to Parliament went out of the direct line to the nearest male heir. There seemed no doubt that this was a genuine exercise of a right to direct the devolution of a barony by tenure, and that the baron summoned as just described was recognized by the House of Lords as entitled to the same precedence as though he had been in the direct line of descent.

The second settlement was more doubtful in its application ^{Second} _{settlement.} to the matter in dispute. William Lord Berkeley, in the reign of Henry VII, having barred the entail above described by suffering a fine, settled the territorial barony upon the heirs of his body, with remainder to Henry VII, and the heirs of his body, with a reversion to his own right heirs. William died childless, and his lands passed under the settlement to Henry VII, and his brother Maurice was never summoned to Parliament. When Edward VI died childless the reversion fell in, and Maurice's great-grandson acquired the property and was summoned to Parliament, taking the precedence due to the ancient barony. But in the meantime, though Maurice Berkeley was never summoned to Parliament, his son Maurice was summoned, yet only as junior baron, and he never obtained the high precedence due to the old Berkeley barony. When Maurice died childless his brother Thomas was summoned,

and on the death of Thomas, his son, also named Thomas, was summoned, and this last enjoyed the precedence of the old barony. Shortly before his death the reversion had fallen in by the death of Edward VI, and Thomas's son Henry obtained the Berkeley lands as well as the Berkeley peerage.

There seems some question therefore, whether, while the lands were in the Crown the barony was not recognized, with or without the precedence due to it, as vested in the heirs at law of William the settlor.

Why insufficient proof.

These two settlements made the strength of the claimant's case, because they afforded proof that a dealing with the castle of Berkeley affected the right of summons to Parliament. In consequence of the first, the right of summons had followed the castle out of the direct line of descent. In consequence of the second, the writ of summons had, at any rate for a time, ceased to be issued while the castle was vested in the Crown.

They were by deed and with licence;

But the inadequacy of these settlements to establish the claimant's case arose from the fact that in each case the settlement was made by deed and with licence from the Crown, whereas the claim set up rested on a devise of the castle by will. The claimant had therefore to contend that modes of dealing with land unknown to the law at the date of the last settlement on which his case rested were applicable to baronies by tenure.

Lord Campbell,
8 H. L. C.
81.

There was no proof that a usage ever existed 'by which a peer, of his own authority and of his own caprice, might disinherit his own sons, might transfer the peerage to a stranger, might confer a privilege on this stranger to demand a summons from the Sovereign to sit in the great council of the realm, and might compel the unwilling sovereign to receive the homage of a peer so created.'

but the
claim
rested on
a
devise.

But the claimant, in order to establish his case, had to make out the existence of a right, the exercise of which would have led to these inconvenient and even grotesque results. For his claim rested on a devise, and wills of land were not valid at the date of the last settlement which was used to prove a right to

deal with the barony by the holder: he therefore was obliged to claim that a barony by tenure, if it existed at all, was susceptible of the widest exercise of rights of alienation and disposition, rights which had come into existence at a later date than any precedent which he could allege. He therefore could make no use of the saving clause in the Act ^{12 Car. II.} ^{o. 24, s. 11.} 'for abolishing tenure by Knight's Service,' by which it was provided that nothing in that Act should 'hurt any title of honour, feudal or other, by which any person hath or may have right to sit in the Lords House of Parliament.' For it was impossible for him to prove that any one had ever acquired such a right by devise.

The decision of the House of Lords coincided with the opinion given by the judges consulted in the *Fitzwalter* case, ^{Collins.} ^{287.} 'that whatever pretence there may have been for presuming that there were originally baronies by tenure, yet that baronies by tenure had been discontinued many years and were not then in being, and so not fit to be revived or to admit any pretence or right of succession thereupon, and that the pretence of a barony by tenure was therefore not to be insisted on.'

The Crown, then, has the exclusive prerogative of creating ^{Summary.} peers, and can do so at will, subject only to the restrictions (1) that it cannot create a peer of Scotland; (2) that it can only create a peer of Ireland under circumstances defined in the Act of Union with Ireland; and (3) that the point seems doubtful whether in directing the devolution of a dignity it is confined to limitations recognised by law in the case of other grants.

Beyond these restrictions its powers are unlimited: but it would not be right to leave this part of the subject without ^{The Peerage Bill.} noting a proposal made in the year 1719 to confine within very narrow limits the creation of new peers.

The Peerage Bill of Lord Sunderland would have closed the House of Lords to any increase in its numbers beyond six.

The king was to be allowed to make six new peers; after which, new creations were only to take place on the extinction of existing peerages. The Scotch peerage was to be represented by twenty-five hereditary peers, which number was to be maintained by reinforcement from the remaining peers of Scotland as occasion required. The bill was rejected, and its provisions are matter of history. The successful attempt of Anne and her ministers in 1711 to pack the House of Lords by the creation of twelve new peers, and so to secure a majority for the Parliamentary approval of the Peace of Utrecht was probably the ground of this venturesome proposal. It may not be much more venturesome to surmise that if the ranks of the House of Lords had been closed in 1719, the House itself would hardly have been in existence in 1885.

§ 4. *Real and supposed restrictions on Summons.*

For our purposes, which are mainly to consider the House of Lords, and not the Peerage generally, the limits upon the Crown's right of summons are more important than the limits upon its right to confer the Dignity of the Peerage. I will deal with all that exist or have been suggested with such comment or explanation as may appear to be necessary.

Tenure. 1. *Tenure.* Enough has been said on this point to show the character of the suggested limitations and the grounds on which, in the Berkeley peerage case, it was held not to exist. If baronies by tenure existed now they must be held with all the modern freedom of alienation and disposition, and the subject might therefore by sale or gift constrain the Crown to summon to its Councils and Parliament the man whom he might procure as his purchaser or select as his donee.

The historical uncertainty as to the existence of such baronies, and the practical absurdities which would follow from their existence, combine to lead to the conclusion that, at any rate, in the language of the judges in the Fitzwalter case, they are 'not fit to be revived.'

2. *Scotch and Irish Peers.* I have already referred to the Scotch and restrictions which are set upon the power of the Crown to create peerages of Scotland and Ireland. There are further restrictions upon its power to summon peers of Scotland and of Ireland to sit and vote in the House of Lords.

The Act of Union with Scotland conferred upon all Scotch peers the same privileges as were enjoyed by the peers of Great Britain. The Act of Union with Ireland conferred upon all Irish peers the same privileges as were enjoyed by the peers of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. But in each case was excepted the right to sit in the House of Lords otherwise than as representative peers under the conditions of their respective Acts of Union.

So jealously was this exception guarded by the House of Lords that throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century it was maintained that the Crown could not confer upon a peer of Scotland a peerage of Great Britain which would entitle him to a writ of summons. The House came to this Resolution in the year 1711, without any reference from the Crown, in the case of the Duke of Hamilton (of the Peerage of Scotland), who claimed a seat as having been created Duke of Brandon in England. This resolution was affirmed in 1719 in the case of the Earl of Soloway, who was also Duke of Dover.

The House of Lords endeavoured thus to impose a strange restriction upon the Crown's right of summons, maintaining that a Scotch peerage, though not a disqualification for receiving a peerage of the United Kingdom, was a disqualification for the enjoyment of the privileges of such a peerage in respect of sitting and voting in the House.

But in the year 1782 a claim was again made for a writ now re-scinded. of summons in respect of the dukedom of Brandon, and the judges were asked by the House of Lords to say whether the Duke of Brandon was incapable of receiving a writ because he was also Duke of Hamilton, or, in the terms of the reference, 'whether the Peers of Scotland be disabled from receiving,

subsequently to the Union, a Patent of Peerage of Great Britain with all the Privileges usually incident thereto.' The judges delivered a unanimous opinion in favour of the claim, and there is now no doubt that though the Crown cannot summon a Scotch or Irish peer (apart from the representative peers), it can enable itself to summon such a peer by conferring upon him a peerage of the United Kingdom.

Spiritual peers.

3. *The Spiritual Peers.* The number of the Lords Spiritual sitting and voting in Parliament is now twenty-six—twenty-four bishops and two archbishops. An increase in the number of English bishops has not entitled the Crown to increase the number of Lords Spiritual summoned to Parliament, and the issue of the writ of summons is regulated by Acts of Parliament which provides for the creation and endowment of new Bishoprics.

The right of Crown limited by Statute.

In the Acts which establish the bishoprics of Manchester, St. Albans, and Truro, as well as in the Act of 1878 which provides for the foundation of four new bishoprics, there is always a clause enacting that the number of Lords Spiritual shall in no case be increased by the foundation of these bishoprics, but that whenever there is a vacancy among the Lords Spiritual by the avoidance of any see in England or Wales other than the sees of Canterbury, York, London, Durham, or Winchester, the vacancy is supplied by the summons of the senior bishop who has not previously become entitled to a writ. The five sees above named confer a title to a writ of summons at once.

Between the years 1800 and 1869 one archbishop and three bishops of the Irish Church were summoned, in rotation of sessions, to the House of Lords, but the Irish Church Act, 32 and 33 Vict. c. 42, s. 13, provides that no archbishop or bishop shall henceforth be summoned to, or be qualified to sit in the House of Lords as such.

Descendibility.

4. *Descendibility.* A very important limitation upon the right of the Crown to issue the writ of summons is found in the hereditary character of the Lords of Parliament. The

limitation may be stated and has been disputed in two ways: the Crown cannot withhold the writ from a man whose ancestor has been summoned by writ and has taken his seat; nor can it summon a man in pursuance of a patent limiting his peerage, and therewith the right to the summons, to the term of his life.

The writ of summons issued without letters patent and followed by the taking of the seat, constitutes a descendible peerage, and this has been so held since the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the Clifton peerage was supported on the following grounds, thus expressed by the judges who were consulted:—

That Sir Jervas Clifton was summoned to Parliament by the name of Jervas Clifton of Leighton Bromswold, by writ, dated July 9. 9 Jac. I.

That he accordingly did come and sit in Parliament as one of the peers of England.

That he died 16 Jac. I, leaving issue behind him Catherine, his sole daughter and heir, who married to the Lord Aubigny, afterwards Duke of Lenox.

That the said Duke, 17 Jac. I, was by letters patent created baron Leighton of Leighton Bromswold, in the county of Huntingdon, to him and the heirs male of his body, whereof none are now living.

That the petitioner is lineally descended from him and is his heir (by the said report) and as such now claims the barony of Clifton.

All which being admitted to be true we are of opinion,

First, that the said Sir Jervas, *by virtue of the said writ of summons, and his sitting in Parliament accordingly*, was a peer and baron of this kingdom, and his blood thereby ennobled.

Secondly, that his said honour descended from him to Catherine, his sole daughter and heir, and successively after several descents to the petitioner as lineal heir to the said Lord Clifton.

Thirdly, that therefore the petitioner is well entitled to the said dignity.

Again, if the Crown creates a peerage by letters patent with an accompanying writ, a limitation in the patent to the

Life peers. life of the grantee will be held to invalidate the grant, so far as it is intended to convey the right to a writ of summons.

The question arose and was argued at length and finally determined by a Committee of Privileges in the case of the Wensleydale peerage.

It is unnecessary here to go into the question of the practical gain to the House of Lords of a reinforcement of eminent men whose fortunes might be inadequate to support an hereditary peerage, but whose abilities might increase the usefulness of a second chamber. We are concerned only with the legal aspect of the matter, and it may be stated as follows.

What the Crown might have done. If the Queen had addressed a writ of summons to Baron Parke as Lord Wensleydale, and there had been no patent limiting the grant, the House could not have questioned the right of Lord Wensleydale to take his seat, nor could the Crown have refused a summons to Lord Wensleydale's heir after his death¹. The first of these propositions was laid down by Lord Campbell in debate, and admitted; the second follows from the decision in the Clifton peerage case cited above. The words of Lord Campbell on the first point are significant.

'The writ without the patent is conclusive evidence of an intention to create a barony in fee, which is clearly within the prerogative of the Crown; but the writ *with the patent as clearly shows the intention merely to give operation to the patent*, and that the nominee shall have nothing beyond the dignity and privileges which the patent may lawfully confer².'

It followed then that the House of Lords was entitled to consider, on the creation of a new peerage by patent, whether the patent conferred such a peerage with such rights as the Crown might lawfully confer, and was further entitled to resist any claim by the new peer to rights which were not conferred by the patent, or, being conferred, were beyond the powers of the Crown to create.

What it did. Lord Wensleydale's patent contained what were ultimately regarded as two repugnant clauses—a limitation of the

¹ *Hansard*, cxi. 362.

² *Ibid.* 331.

peerage to the term of his life, and a special provision that he should be entitled to a writ of summons as a Lord of Parliament.

The right of the Crown to create a life peerage by patent was practically undisputed, but it was admitted that for four hundred years there had been no instance of a 'commoner being sent under a peerage for life to sit and vote in the House of Lords,' and it was contended that even before that time no such instance had been satisfactorily established¹.

I will not follow the historical arguments of the learned lords who took part in the debate, but will be content with the summary of Dr. Stubbs as to the historical probabilities of the existence of Lords of Parliament who were life peers. There are, no doubt, cases which would seem to be cases of intermittent summons, or cases in which a man has been summoned during his life while his descendants have received no summons. Prynne has made out a list of these, and finds upon it an argument that a writ of summons no more necessarily makes a man a hereditary peer of Parliament than the return of a man as knight of a shire makes him an hereditary member of the House of Commons. But Dr. Stubbs tells us that 'on careful examination Prynne's list shrinks to very small proportions; some of the names are those of judges whose writs have been confusedly mixed with those of the barons; some occur only in lists of summons to councils which were not proper Parliaments. In most of the other cases the cessation of the summons is explained by the particular family history; for example, the son is a minor at the time of his father's death, and dies or is forgotten before he comes of age. In others, nothing is known of the later family history, and it must be supposed to have become extinct²'.

Dr. Stubbs goes so far as to say that 'no baron was ever created for life only without a provision as to the remainder or right of succession after his death.'

¹ Hansard, col. 335.

² Const. Hist. iii. 439.

Authentic cases of life peerages. The well-authenticated cases of grants of life peerages appear to fall under three heads:—(1) grants for life of higher rank in the peerage to persons already entitled to a writ of summons in virtue of an existing barony; (2) grants of baronies for life, with an express provision that the bearers of the title should not sit in Parliament¹; (3) grants of life peerages to women, mostly the mistresses of the last two Stuart and the first two Hanoverian kings.

None of these support the contention in favour of the legality of a creation of a Lord of Parliament for life, and if such creations had been proved to be the practice of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the disuse of them for four hundred years would have been a formidable argument against the revival of such a prerogative by the Crown. If precedents were to be drawn from times when the rules of the constitution were in many respects indefinite, and from the exercise of prerogatives which for hundreds of years the Crown had been content to forego, some strange results might have been followed in the present century. As was pointed out in the debate, much of the Reform Act of 1832 was needless legislation if the Crown could have resorted to the power which it undoubtedly exercised at one time of issuing writs to new constituencies and withholding writs from others. Just as it was proposed that Queen Victoria should remodel the House of Lords, so William IV might have redistributed seats and remodelled the House of Commons, on the same principle, though doubtless on a larger scale.

Result of argument.

On the whole the balance of legal argument was strongly against the claim of the Crown. With the merits of the plan as a source of strength to the House of Lords I am not here concerned. The rule of law seems clear. The Crown can confer such dignities and with such limitations as it may please, but a Lord of Parliament must be an hereditary peer, except in the special cases of the bishops and the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, and once an hereditary peer is summoned

¹ *Stubbs, Const. Hist.* iii. 440, note 1.

the right to a summons descends to his heirs, except in the special case of the representative peers of Ireland¹.

5. *Alienage* is a disqualification for summons. The Act of Alienage Settlement provides that no person born out of the kingdom, unless born of English parents, even though naturalised, can be a member of either House of Parliament; and the Naturalisation Act of 1870, while it abolishes the proprietary disabilities of aliens, provides in the second section that this shall not qualify them for any parliamentary or municipal franchise, or entitle an alien to any right or privilege as a British subject except such rights and privileges in respect of property as are hereby expressly given to him.

It must be taken therefore that the Crown's right of summons is limited by the rule that none but a British subject may receive a writ of summons to the House of Lords.

6. *Bankruptcy*. A further limitation on the powers of the Crown must be noted in the case of bankrupt peers. The Bankruptcy Act of 1883 disqualifies them from sitting and voting, but an unrepealed clause of the Bankruptcy Disqualification Act, 1871, provides that 'a writ of summons shall not be issued to any peer for the time disqualified from sitting or voting in the House of Lords.'

§ 5. *Disqualifications for Sitting and Voting.*

There are some disqualifications which do not affect the royal right to issue the writ of summons, but which rest upon the individual peer. There would appear to be nothing to prevent the Crown from summoning such peers to attend, but a rule of law or resolution or standing order of the House would forbid them to sit and vote therein.

1. *Infancy* is such a disqualification, if not by the common law of Parliament, at any rate by a standing order of the 22nd of May, 1685, to the effect that 'no lord under the age of one and twenty years shall be permitted to sit in this House.'

¹ The representative Peers of Scotland are not individually summoned.

Felony. 2. *Felony* is now a disqualification similar in its character and effects to the like disqualification in the case of members of the House of Commons. For by 33 & 34 Vict. c. 23, the old rule as to corruption of blood is abolished, and, except in the case of outlawry, the forfeiture which ensued upon corruption of blood. A conviction of treason or felony therefore no longer is held to affect the nobility of blood of the convicted person ; but it incapacitates him, if the conviction is followed by a sentence of a certain severity¹, from sitting or voting as a member of either House of Parliament until he has either suffered his term of punishment or received a pardon under the Great Seal.

Sentence of House. 3. *Sentence of the House.* It is presumed that the House of Lords could not, any more than the House of Commons, by mere resolution exclude a member of its own body permanently from taking a part in its proceedings. But it can disqualify by sentence, sitting as a Court of justice, either upon an impeachment by the House of Commons or, presumably, upon trial of one of its own members in the full House if Parliament is sitting, if not, in the Court of the Lord High Steward. And this sentence passed by resolution of the House is an actual disqualification, and not, as in the case of the expulsion of a member by the House of Commons, a punishment which may or may not be temporary, as the person expelled does or does not obtain re-election.

Thus the sentence upon the Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer of England, impeached by the House of Commons for bribery, extortion, and other high crimes and misdemeanours, was settled by resolution of the House, before the Commons had demanded that sentence should be passed. Lord Middlesex was to be incapable of holding office, to pay a fine to the king, and then came :—

¹ The punishments which must follow conviction in order to produce this effect are penal servitude, or imprisonment with hard labour for any term, or without hard labour for a term of twelve months.

'The sixth question, "Whether the Lord Treasurer shall ever sit in Parliament hereafter, or no?"'

'Agreed "that he shall never sit hereafter¹."

Sentence to this effect was passed on sentence being demanded by the Commons. But the Crown can exercise the prerogative of pardon and so remove the disqualification and restore the right to sit and vote.

4. The Oath. The obligation of the Parliamentary oath was not imposed upon the Lords till more than a hundred years after it had been required of the Commons. But since 30 Car. II, c. 1, the law respecting the oath has been the 29 Vict., same for the Lords as for the Commons, and it now depends ^{c. 19.} on the Parliamentary Oaths Act 1866.

§ 6. *Modes of acquiring right to sit and vote.*

I have now dealt with the limitations which exist on the right of the Crown in respect of the creation of peers; the further limitations which restrict the right of the Crown to summon those on whom it has conferred the dignity of the peerage; and the disqualifications which, apart from any restrictions on the Crown's right of creation or summons, may be a bar to a peer's right to sit and vote. It remains to consider the process by which the right to sit and vote is acquired, before discussing the privileges of the Lords, and their mode of transacting legislative and judicial business.

i. *Peers of the United Kingdom.*

A peer of the United Kingdom is now invariably created by letters patent, and these are accompanied with a writ of summons to the House. On his introduction to the House he presents his patent of peerage to the Chancellor, and this having been read is, together with his writ of summons, entered upon the Journals of the House. At each successive Parliament he receives a separate writ of summons in the form set forth in an earlier chapter.

¹ iii. Lords Journals 382.

A peer who succeeds to his peerage during infancy is entitled to his summons when of full age, and makes application to the Chancellor for a writ. Unless the case is one of doubt the writ is issued at once, and he takes his seat without the formalities required in the case of a new peer. If the case should be doubtful, the Chancellor may decline to order the issue of the writ. The claimant must then petition the Queen, who refers the decision to the Lords, not as a matter of right but by custom, for the Crown might, if it chose, determine the question upon any advice that it was pleased to ask. Upon such reference the Committee of privileges deals with the claim, and after hearing evidence reports to the House, and the Crown grants or withholds the summons accordingly.

ii. *Representative peers of Scotland.*

by Scotch
representa-
tive peers. The Act of Union with Scotland makes no provision for any addition to the Scotch peerage, so it is not necessary to go behind the process by which the Representative peers obtain their right to sit and vote.

Proclama-
tion. It is provided by 6 Anne, c. 78, that whenever a new Parliament is summoned, a proclamation should be made under the Great Seal, commanding the peers of Scotland to meet in Edinburgh, or at such other place and at such time as is named in the proclamation. This proclamation has to be published at the Market Cross at Edinburgh, and in all the county towns of Scotland ten days at least before the day of election¹. The election by custom takes place at Holyrood, and is marked by some curious features.

Election. The Peers sit at a long table, and the roll of peerages is called over by the Lord Clerk Register: each answers to the peerage in right of which he is present. The roll is a roll not of peers but of peerages, so that the same peer may be

^{14 & 15}
^{Vict. c. 87.}

¹ It seems strange that in 1874 the officials concerned in the conduct of the election of Scotch Peers did not appear to be aware that the time had been shortened from the period of twenty-five days required by the Act of Anne. (Report of Committee of House of Lords on the Representative Peerage of Scotland and Ireland, p. 21.)

called two or three times if he happens to represent more peerages than one: nor is there any mode of disputing, at the time, the right to be present of any one who answers to a peerage called. The roll is then called a second time, and each peer rises and reads out his list of those for whom he desires to vote. No peer may vote more than once, though he may represent more than one peerage. At the conclusion of this part of the proceedings, proxies are handed in, the Lord Clerk Register then reads out the list of sixteen elected peers, and makes a return, which he signs and seals in the presence of the assembled peers. The Return is then sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, and by him transmitted to the Clerk of the House of Lords. The elected Scotch peer does not therefore receive a special summons, but presents himself to take the oath, which is preliminary to taking his seat, in right of his election as evidenced by the list supplied to the Clerk of the House: he then enjoys his right to sit and vote during the continuance of that Parliament. The rules of election seem to offer opportunities for the giving of votes by persons not entitled to vote; for those who are assembled as representing the peerages on the roll are not required to offer any evidence of their right to be present. So when a peerage is called the Lord Clerk Register is compelled to receive any votes tendered in respect of it except in so far as he may be debarred by a clause in the Act about to be referred to.

An Act of the present reign has, though inadequately, ^{10 & 11} Vict. c. 52. attempted to supply a remedy for this inconvenience. It provides—

1. That peerages in respect of which no vote has been given since 1800 shall be struck off the roll, and no vote accepted from persons claiming to represent them unless the House of Lords should specially give direction to that effect. § 1.

2. That if a right to vote is disputed, any two peers present may enter a protest, and the Lord Clerk Register is thereon bound to send the proceeding to the Clerk of

Scotch representative peers. Parliaments, and the claim is considered by the House of Lords in Committee of Privileges if application is made for such inquiry. § 3.

3. That if a claim has been established in the case of an individual to a particular peerage, no vote is to be received in respect of that peerage from any other than that individual during his lifetime. § 4.

Nevertheless it may happen that a man without any right to vote may nevertheless vote, and vote unquestioned, unless two peers present should think it worth their while to protest, and further to move the House of Lords to inquire into the validity of the vote.

A Scotch representative peer on whom a peerage of the United Kingdom is conferred, at once vacates his seat as a representative peer, and a new election is held.

iii. *Representative Peers of Ireland.*

Irish representative peers. It is provided by the Act of Union with Ireland that the number of Irish peers shall never be reduced below one hundred, and that until that limit is reached the Crown may create one new peerage for every three which become extinct.

Of the Irish peerage twenty-eight are elected as representatives of the whole body in the House of Lords, and each representative peer enjoys his right as a Lord of Parliament for the term of his life.

Mode of Election. All the peers of Ireland are entitled to vote at the election of the representative peers, and their right to vote is certified by the Chancellor of England through the Clerk of the Parliaments to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, in each case of a new peer becoming entitled to be placed on the voting roll.

When an election has to be made, owing to the death of a representative peer, a certificate of the death is sent by two other such peers to the Lord Chancellor of England, who thereupon issues a writ to the Chancellor of Ireland directing him to provide for the holding an election.

The person responsible for the conduct of the election is the

Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper in Ireland, who on receipt of a warrant from the Chancellor sends voting papers to all the peers who apply for them. The voting papers are sent in duplicate, each form having a writ attached to it; the peer fills up the duplicate papers, seals them and sends them to the Clerk of the Crown. But before filling up the paper he is required to take the oath of allegiance before a judge in England or Ireland, a privy councillor, an Ambassador or secretary of an embassy abroad, or a justice of the peace for any Irish borough or county.

After a lapse of fifty-two days from the day of the issue of the writ the poll is closed, and the clerk of the Crown hands in one copy of the writs and voting papers at the Bar of the House of Lords, together with a certificate stating the number of votes given for each peer who has been voted for, and who it is that is duly elected. The elected peer is entitled to a writ of summons on his election and at each successive Parliament. It may well happen that an Irish peer not resident in Ireland has some difficulty in satisfying this requirement. And as a matter of fact, Irish peers do lose their votes because they cannot, without great inconvenience, present themselves before a judge or privy councillor.

No vacancy is created among the Irish representative Peers by the promotion of any one of them to a peerage of the United Kingdom.

iv. *The Spiritual Peers.*

The form of writ addressed to the Bishop or Archbishop entitled to a summons to the House of Lords has been given *ante*, p. 50. earlier, and it has been noticed that the royal right of summons in respect of bishoprics is limited by the Acts, which provided for the creation and maintenance of new bishoprics. It remains to consider the process by which a bishop becomes such, and the steps by which his title is perfected, subject to the limitations to a summons to the House of Lords above referred to.

Process of
creation.

Congé d'élier.

Letters missive.

25 Hen.
VIII, c. 20.

Consent.

Oath of fealty.

Confirmation.

Consecration.
Homage.

Do bishops sit as temporal barons,

On a vacancy in a bishopric or archbishopric, the first stage in the proceedings is the notification of the vacancy by the dean and chapter to the Crown in Chancery. The Crown thereupon grants them a *congé d'élier*, together with letters missive containing the name of the person whom they are desired to elect. The *congé d'élier* is merely a form : if the election is not made in accordance with the letters missive within twelve days of their receipt the Crown appoints by letters patent¹.

The next stage in the process, following upon the election by the dean and chapter, is the consent of the person elected : he must signify this before a notary public, and make oath and fealty to the Crown. He does this immediately before, and as part of the business of his confirmation. He thereupon becomes Lord Bishop elect. It remains that he should be confirmed in his election, consecrated, and enthroned.

The confirmation is brought about by the issue of letters patent under the great seal, in the case of a bishopric to the archbishop of the province ; in the case of an archbishopric to four bishops, or to one archbishop and two bishops. The confirmation then takes place before the vicar general of the province, who on being satisfied that all the requirements of the election are fulfilled, commits to the bishop elect the care, governance and administration of the spiritualities of his see and decrees that he should be enthroned. The bishop becomes thereupon fit to discharge all the spiritual functions of his office. He is not however entitled to its temporalities until after consecration. When this has taken place he does homage to the Queen for the temporalities of his see, and takes an oath of fealty to her. He thereupon becomes entitled in his turn, or at once if he holds a bishopric which confers a seat in Parliament immediately, to his writ of summons to the House of Lords.

It is a question much disputed, but of almost entirely historical interest, whether a bishop sits in the House of

¹ Where, as in the case of a new bishopric, there is no dean and chapter, the Crown appoints at once by letters patent.

Lords in virtue of a temporal barony, supposed to be conferred upon homage being rendered to the Crown, or in his spiritual capacity, by right of long-established custom dating from the Saxon assemblage of the wise. On the one side it is alleged that the bishops after the Conquest were made to hold their lands as baronies; that though they no longer hold the temporalities of their sees by such tenure, they do homage to the crown as for a temporal barony; that the lords have resolved 'that bishops are only lords of parliament not peers, for they are not of trial by nobility,' and that by custom they do not vote in trials in full Parliament or in the Court of the *Post,*
Lord High Steward. p. 306.

But in spite of this array of probabilities it seems clear that ^{or in right} a bishop sits in the House of Lords in virtue of his spiritual ^{of spirituali-} _{ties?} office, and not of the temporalities of his see.

For his writ of summons is, and always has been, somewhat different in form from that of the temporal peer. He was summoned 'fide et dilectione,' and now 'on his faith and love,' not like the temporal peer 'fide et ligantia,' on his 'faith and allegiance'; and, further, during the vacancy of a bishopric or during the absence of the bishop in foreign parts, the guardian of the spiritualities was summoned to Parliament to represent the spiritual interests of the diocese. Thus in the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh's reign writs of summons were issued

'Custodi spiritualitatis episcopatus Lincolnensis, sede vacante.

'Custodi spiritualitatis episcopatus Bangorensis, ipso epi-
scopo in remotis agente.'

In the matter of criminal trials in the House of Lords or the Court of the Lord High Steward, it is to be observed that though the spiritual peers retire before verdict is given, they retire under protest. And the resolution of the House of Lords excluding bishops from trial by their peers depends upon the doctrine of 'ennobled blood,' of which Dr. Stubbs says that 'historically it is a mere absurdity: it is impossible to regard the blood as ennobled by law when the nobility of

the blood is restricted to the bearer of the title and does not extend even to his younger children.'

The Bishop sits in the House of Lords in virtue of a writ *ante, p. 50.* of summons in the form given in an earlier chapter and subject to the rule that there are no more than twenty-six spiritual peers, who are also Lords of Parliament in virtue of their spiritual peerage; that of these, five are to consist of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London, Durham and Winchester, and that the other bishops obtain, in order of seniority, their right to a writ of summons.

32 & 33 Vict. c. iii, s. 5. A bishop may resign his see and therewith lose his seat in the House of Lords, though he retains 'his rank, dignity and privilege.'

v. The Lords of Appeal in Ordinary.

Lords of Appeal Without entering upon the judicial functions of the House of Lords at this stage it is enough to say here that for most purposes it is a final Court of Appeal from the Queen's Courts in England, Scotland and Ireland; that there is nothing but the conventions of the House to prevent any peer of Parliament from taking part in such Appeals, but that an Act of *39 & 40 Vict. c. 59.* 1876, the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, has provided that no appeal shall be heard or determined unless there are present at such hearing and determination at least three Lords of Appeal. The Lords of Appeal are of three kinds, the Lord Chancellor for the time, such Lords of Parliament as have held high judicial office, and the Lords of Appeal in ordinary. It is with these last that I am concerned. They are a curious exception to the rules which I have been setting forth as to the tenure of a right to sit and vote in the House of Lords.

The Appellate Jurisdiction Act gives power to the Crown to appoint two Lords of Appeal in ordinary. They must possess certain qualifications—that is, they must have held, for two years, high judicial office, or have practised at the English, Scotch or Irish bar for fifteen years; they are entitled to salaries of £6000 a year; and, as judges, they hold office on

a like tenure to other judges, during good behaviour, unaffected by the demise of the Crown, but removable on an address of both Houses of Parliament.

Besides this, each Lord of Appeal is entitled to the dignity ^{are life} of Baron for his life, and to a writ of summons to attend, and ^{peers.} to sit and vote in the House of Lords, for so long as he continues to discharge judicial duties. .

The Peers of the United Kingdom are the only members of the House of Lords whose right to sit and vote is descendible. Of the rest, the representative peers of Ireland alone enjoy a right necessarily co-extensive with the term of their lives. For a Scotch representative peer may lose his seat by non-election, or vacate it by the acceptance of a peerage of the United Kingdom; a bishop may resign his see; and a Lord of Appeal may retire from the duties of his office.

The formalities of the introduction of peers rest on the standing orders of the House of Lords. ^{Introduction of peers.}

A peer by descent needs no introduction, but may take his seat at any time after attaining the age of twenty-one. Peers who are summoned in virtue of newly created peerages, or in virtue of special limitations in remainder in patents of old peerages, are introduced by two peers, their patents presented to the Chancellor and read by him and their writs of summons also presented. The patent and writ are both entered on the Journals of the House. This rule does not of course apply to the Scotch representative peers. It will be borne in mind that, as was described in a preceding section, *ante,* the taking and subscription of the oath of allegiance is a ^{p. 193.} further preliminary and universal condition precedent to the taking of his seat by a peer.

The ranks and precedence of the members of the House of Rank and Lords are not very important for the purposes of this treatise. ^{precedence of peers.} The title of Duke was first conferred on a subject by Edward III, who created his son, the Black Prince, Duke of Cornwall.

That of Marquis dates from the reign of Richard II. Earldoms date from Saxon times. The first Viscount was created by Henry VI; and when we come to the lowest rank of the peerage, that of Baron, we are relegated to the antiquarian discussion which embarrassed us at the commencement of the chapter, if we wish to ascertain the origin of the title as a title of dignity.

The station of the peers and their precedence within the House are regulated by an Act of Henry VIII, 'for placing of the Lords.' This Act recites that 'in all great councils and congregations of men having sundry degrees and offices in the Commonwealth, it is very requisite and convenient that order should be had and taken for the placing, and sitting of such persons as are bound to resort to the same,' and then proceeds to order where the great officers of state shall sit, and that 'all Dukes, Marqueesses, Earls, Viscounts and Barons not having any of the offices aforesaid shall sit and be placed after their anciency as it hath been accustomed.'

^{31 Hen. VIII, c. 10.}

^{31 Hen. VIII, c. 10, s. 7.}

§ 7. *Privileges of the House of Lords.*

It is common to enumerate among the privileges of the House of Lords various attributes of that body which are not a part of its privileges as a House of Parliament. Its various judicial functions are sometimes spoken of as its privileges, but the greater part of them rest upon a different ground. The right of its members to enter a protest upon the Journals of the House against Acts with which they do not agree, is not a privilege but a part of its procedure.

Privileges
of the
Lords.

It will be well to take the privileges of the House of Lords in the order in which I dealt with the privileges of the House of Commons, and to note such correspondence or difference as may exist.

Speaker of
the Lords

Firstly, the Lords do not go through the form of asking for their privileges. The Speaker of the House is, by prescription, the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great

Seal ; in his absence his place is taken by deputy Speakers, of whom there are always several, appointed by commission under the Great Seal, and if they should all be absent the Lords elect a Speaker for the time being. The woolsack on which the Speaker sits, is outside the limits of the House, so that the office may be discharged by a commoner, and has been so discharged when a commoner has been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Nor has the Speaker of the House of Lords the authority on points of order, nor the dignity, in relation to the other members of the House, which is possessed by the Speaker of the House of Commons.

The permanent officers of the House are the Clerk of the Parliament, whose duties are to keep the records of the proceedings and judgments of the House ; the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, whose duties answer to those of the Serjeant-at-Arms in the Commons ; and the Serjeant-at-Arms, who is more especially the attendant of the Chancellor.

The Speaker then, even on such occasions as he is chosen by the act of the House, does not receive any formal approval from the Crown, nor are the privileges of the House demanded ^{does not demand} by him or by any of its members. These privileges may now ^{privileges.} be compared with those of the House of Commons.

Freedom from arrest is claimed by the Lords as well as by ^{the person ;} the Commons. It is claimed by the Lords when Parliament is sitting or *within the usual times of privilege of Parliament*, except in cases of treason, felony, or refusing to give security for the peace ; and this privilege is held to extend to their servants and followers during session and twenty days before and after.

The privilege of declining to serve as a witness is now waived by the Lords as by the Commons, and that of freedom from jury service is confirmed by Statute.

Freedom of speech has never been questioned as regards the ^{of speech ;} House of Lords.

The privilege of freedom of access to the person of the ^{of access ;} Sovereign exists for each individual peer, and not, as with the House of Commons, for the House collectively. This right

would seem rather to belong to the magnates as hereditary counsellors of the Crown than to the Lords as a House of Parliament.

of excluding dis-qualified persons;

The right of the House of Lords to see to the due constitution of its own body is analogous to the right which the House of Commons possesses to prevent disqualified persons from taking part in its business and to declare the seats vacant in virtue of which such persons claim to sit.

In the exercise of this privilege the House of Lords appears to have an undoubted right to decide on the validity of a new creation¹, as entitling the newly created peer to sit and vote. It exercised this right when, in 1711, it came to the decision, reversed by it in 1782, that the acquisition of an English peerage did not entitle a Scotch peer to a seat, and when, in 1856, it decided against Lord Wensleydale's claim to take his seat as a life peer. But the House has no right to decide on

¹ Lord Campbell, in the debate on the Wensleydale peerage, says: 'By our free constitution there is a tribunal appointed for trying the legality of every exercise of the Royal prerogative which may be questioned. With regard to the creation of a Peer, that tribunal is the House of Lords. We have no right to consider the merits or demerits of the party who claims to take his seat here, if he be a British subject free from legal disability; but we have a right to see that he shows a title to sit here *ex facie* good: and if he claims by patent, the validity of that patent is necessarily submitted to our jurisdiction. We may call in the judges as advisers, but the House decides *proprio vigore*. Like all other deliberative assemblies, we are necessarily vested with the power of preventing intruders from interfering with our deliberations. Lord Campbell goes on to insist upon the need of distinguishing two things which he says 'are entirely dissimilar—deciding upon claims to an old peerage, and considering the validity of a new creation. It is quite true that with respect to the former we have no jurisdiction except upon a reference from the Crown, and Lord Holt was quite right in refusing to pay any attention to any adjudication of this House upon a claim to the Banbury peerage without any such reference. The power of deciding on these claims the Crown, from the remotest times, has reserved to itself, with such advice as it may ask. Formerly they were referred to the Earl Marshal and the Hereditary Constable, and, according to modern practice in cases of doubt and difficulty, they have been referred to this House. The Attorney-General has been the chief adviser of the Crown in peerage cases, and upon his sole advice the Crown may still act respecting titles that have been dormant for centuries.... But the claim to sit on a new creation by patent is a very different proceeding. Here the patent must be produced and read to verify the right of the claimant to take his place. If it confers such a dignity as by law gives a right to sit here he must be admitted.'

claims to an old peerage, unless the decision should be referred to it, as is usually the case, by the Crown.

It was in the use of this same right to see that the House of demand-
is duly constituted that the Lords petitioned the Crown in
1626 to send to the Earl of Bristol the writ to which he was
entitled, a committee having reported that there was no pre-
cedent for the action of the Crown in withholding the writ.
In the same year the King was compelled to release the
Earl of Arundel, whom he had kept in custody on no such
charge as took his case out of the limits of privilege. The
House met the many evasions and postponements of Charles
by adjourning all other business to the consideration of their
privileges, and thereupon the King set the Earl free from
restraint¹.

The House is also empowered by the Act of Union with of deter-
Ireland to determine all disputed claims to Irish peerages; mining
and in respect of disputed claims to vote at the election of
representative peers of Scotland, a decision may be obtained
from the Committee of Privileges under the provisions of
10 & 11 Vict. c. 52.

No question has been raised, so far as I am aware, con- of commit-
cerning the right of the House to regulate and control its ment.
own proceedings; and in comparing the privileges of the two
Houses it only remains to consider the right of the House to
commit for contempt. The House of Lords possesses wider
powers in this respect than does the House of Commons; it ^{8 Durnf. &}
can commit for a definite term, and the prisoner is not ^{East. 314-}
released by prorogation. If however the commitment is not
for a specific term, prorogation does, as it would seem, end the
commitment², although Lord Denman in *Stockdale v. Haneard* ^{9 A. & E.}
seems to have considered this to be doubtful. ^{127.}

A privilege which the House has for the last seventeen Proxies.
years thought it right to forego is that of voting on divisions
by proxy. The origin of the practice was doubtless due to

¹ Elsynge on Parliaments 224 et seq.

² May's Parliamentary Practice, p. 111.

the desire of the king in the early days of Parliaments to secure that the members of the baronage were individually bound by the grants made or the laws agreed to in their House. ‘Those lords,’ says Elsyng¹, ‘that could not appear according to their summons made their *proxies*. But if they neither came nor made proxies, then for their disobedience to the king’s writ they were amerced.’ There were occasions when the king was not satisfied with an appearance by proxy, and on such occasions the writ contained a clause to the effect that a proxy would not be admitted.

The rules which the House adopted for the regulation of voting by proxy are now immaterial, for a standing order was made on March 31, 1868, that ‘the practice of calling for proxies on a division shall be discontinued.’

Protests. The right of a dissentient peer to record a protest on the Journals of the House is not a privilege except in so far as the control of its own procedure by the House is a privilege. The House of Commons might by standing order confer the same right upon its members. But a minority in the House of Commons is content with the power of speaking in a debate and voting in a division. In the House of Lords a minority, or any part of one, enjoys a further opportunity for the expression of its views, and can enter the grounds of its dissent in the form of a protest upon the Journals of the House.

Judicial duties. The judicial functions of the House of Lords are fourfold. As a Court of Appeal it reviews the judgments of the High Court of Justice and Court of Appeal. As a Court of first instance it tries great offenders against the State upon impeachment by the Commons. It has a like jurisdiction over members of its own body in criminal cases, where a peer is charged with treason or felony: and it is a court for the determination of disputed claims of peerage on reference from the Crown, and of the validity of new peerages intended by

¹ Manner of holding Parliaments in England, p. 119.

the Crown to confer a right to sit and vote in the House. Of these the first is a function which it inherited from the *magnum concilium*, and cannot be called a privilege of Parliament ; the second is a duty which it discharges in conjunction with the Commons as the High Court of Parliament ; the third is merely an application of the rule in Magna Charta that a man should be tried by his peers ; the last is a privilege analogous to that enjoyed by the Commons of declaring a seat vacant where disqualifications exist, and, until recently, of determining disputed returns.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROCESS OF LEGISLATION.

We have now not only brought our Parliament together, but have analysed its constituent parts, and have ascertained how they come into existence, and of what they consist. Our next step must be to consider how they act.

Legislative functions of Parliament most striking because Parliament is sovereign. The most prominent and perhaps the most important function of Parliament is legislation ; for serious as are the duties which Parliament discharges in the selection and criticism of the Executive, the Ministers of the Crown, it is in legislation that the sovereignty of Parliament displays itself. Its control over the executive though stringent is indirect : its control over every rule of conduct which it may choose to take in hand is direct and absolute.

Limitations on its sovereignty.

I would speak of the absoluteness of legislative sovereignty with the reservations so clearly set forth by Professor Dicey¹, and would make it clear that the omnipotence of Parliament is dependent on a certain correspondence between legislation and public opinion, a correspondence which must be more or less close in proportion to the tractability, the political capacity, the power of organisation of the governed. The law-maker in a despotism must consider first whether his law will cause a revolt ; and next whether he has force at his back to crush it. The law-maker, in a state where the bulk of the population elects those who make the laws, has to con-

¹ *Law of the Constitution*, p. 71 sq.

sider whether the majority will approve, or at any rate will accept his law.

But given a certain correspondence with public opinion, and Parliament is omnipotent. From it there is no appeal save to the electorate, and the Crown only can make that appeal. Parliament could recast the framework of the executive, which it is generally content to criticise. The courts of law will not venture to consider whether its enactments are advisable, they will only endeavour, when required, to ascertain what those enactments mean.

This supreme legislative power, which is the outward and visible sign of sovereignty, the nearest approach to that monster of absolutism which Austin created for himself, is the form of Parliamentary action upon which our inquiry should first turn. If Parliament is sovereign, it would seem natural to look first at the mode in which its sovereign attributes are shown, and later at the duties of Parliament as a grand Court for national grievances, and at its critical attitude towards the executive.

I propose, therefore, now to consider the process of legislation in Parliament, and to divide the subject into four heads, ^{Division of subject.} as follows:—

1. Antiquities of legislative procedure.
2. Ordinary procedure of the Houses. Public Bills.
3. Money Bills.
4. Private Bill Legislation.

* SECTION I.

ANTIQUITIES OF LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE.

§ 1. *The Rights of the Commons.*

In considering how at different times laws have been framed and passed, we need not regard the forms in which the charters and assizes of the Norman and Angevin kings were issued. We are concerned only with legislation by the Crown in Parliament. Magna Charta is, at least in form,

a treaty rather than a statute, though it is issued *per consilium venerabilium patrum, et nobilium virorum*; but other enactments of kings, though made before the representation of the counties and boroughs in the Commons, are made by the advice and with the assent of the national council. Whatever may have been the respective shares of the king and his counsellors, legislation proceeded from the king with the counsel and consent of a body of advisers variously constituted from time to time.

1297.

The steps were gradual by which the Commons became partakers in this counsel and consent, and established thereby the legislative sovereignty of Parliament. The Confirmatio Cartarum is a solemn affirmation of the right of the Commons to be parties to taxation: an act of the fifteenth year of the reign of Edward II is a like affirmation of their right to be parties to legislation.

The Confirmatio Cartarum runs thus:—

Rights of
the Com-
mons in
respect of
taxation:

'v. And for so much as divers people of our realm are in fear that the aids and tasks which they have given to us before time towards our wars and other business, of their own grant and goodwill, howsoever they were made, might turn to a bondage to them and their heirs, because they might be at another time found in the rolls, and so likewise the prises taken throughout the realm by our ministers: we have granted for us and our heirs, that we shall not draw such aids, tasks nor prises into a custom, for anything that hath been done heretofore, or that may be found by roll in any other manner.'

'vi. Moreover we have granted for us and our heirs, as well to archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors and other folk of holy Church, as also to earls, barons and to all the commonalty of the land, that for no business henceforth will we take such manner of aids, tasks nor prises, but by the common assent of the realm, and for the common profit thereof, saving the ancient tasks and prises due and accustomed.'

of legisla-
tion.

And the Act of 1322 is even more explicit on the legislative rights of the Commons.

'The matters which are to be established for the estate of our lord the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, shall be treated, accorded and established in parliaments by our lord the king, *and by the assent of the prelates, earls and barons, and the commonalty of the realm*, according as hath been heretofore accustomed.'

15 Ed. II.

But though the participation of the three estates of the realm was thus early declared to be essential to the validity of taxation and of legislation, yet as a matter of practice it was a long time before the process of legislation assumed its present form. There were two causes at work to produce this delay. The Crown in Council possessed and exercised a concurrent legislative power, inconsistent with the requirements of the Statute of Edward II for the participation of Crown, Lords and Commons in all legislative acts. And again, the mode in which the Commons at first exercised their right to partake in legislative functions was ill-adapted to secure that they obtained their due share in the framing of the required laws.

Difficulties
in the
exercise of
these
rights.

§ 2. *The claims of the Crown to legislate.*

The first of these obstacles to the full recognition of the legislative rights of the Commons is found in the concurrent legislative power of the Crown in Council. This survival of the pre-Parliamentary Constitution is manifested in the distinction so difficult to be drawn by the student of constitutional history between Statute and Ordinance. The Statute and ordinance: recognized differences between these two modes of legislation are described by Dr. Stubbs as being differences partly of form, partly of character¹.

The Ordinance is put forth in letters patent or charter, and how distinguishable is not engrossed on the Statute Roll; it is an act of the king able, or of the king in council; it is temporary, and is revocable by the king or the king in council.

The Statute is the act of the Crown, Lords, and Commons;

¹ Const. Hist. ii. 584.

it is engrossed on the Statute Roll; it is meant to be a permanent addition to the law of the land; it can only be revoked by the same body that made it and in the same form.

The Ordinance in fact seems to follow the form of legislation which was in use when the Crown discharged both legislative and executive functions. Its existence indicates the difficulty which is noticeable for some time after Parliaments were at work in distinguishing the functions of the Crown in Parliament from those of the Crown in Council, of the 'Magnates' as Councillors of the Crown from the same persons as a House of Parliament.

Illustration.

A good illustration of the view which the mediæval Parliaments entertained of the difference between Statute and Ordinance is to be found in the proceedings of the year 1340.

*Rot. Parl.
ii. 112.*

The petitions of that year were dealt with in two groups. One of these was ordered to be dealt with by a joint committee¹ of the two Houses and related to such articles as were intended to be perpetual. These were 'by the common assent and accord of all' to be put into a Statute, to be engrossed and sealed, and the Statute was to commence 'To the Honour of God, &c.'²

*Rot. Parl.
ii. 113.*

The other group related to 'such points and articles as were not perpetual but for a time,' and with these the king was to deal, with the assent of Lords and Commons, by letters patent, to commence in this manner 'Edward, &c., know that whereas the Prelates, Earls, &c.'

Ordaining power of
Crown

As the relative positions and duties of Crown and Parliament grew more definite, Crown and Commons alike realised

¹ The Committee consisted of prelates, temporal peers and judges, twelve knights of the shire, and six burgesses.

² The Statute runs thus:—

'To the Honour of God and of Holy Church, by the assent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and others assembled at the Parliament holden at Westminster, the Wednesday next after Mid-lent in the 14th year of the reign of our Lord King Edward the Third of England and the first year of his reign of France: the king for the peace and quietness of his people, as well great as small, doth grant and establish the things underwritten, which he will to be holden and kept in all points *perpetually to endure.*'

the importance of this independent exercise of legislative power by the Crown in Council. One may note how the confusion is gradually cleared away in the course of the reign of Edward III. During that reign various experiments were tried for raising money at councils to which a limited number of knights and burgesses were summoned. Thus in 1353 an assembly of this sort sanctioned the Ordinance of the Staple¹, whereby trade was regulated, a new capital offence created and a source of supply secured to the Crown. But the Commons present at this council protested against the enactment of matter so grave, unless in Parliament and in statutory form, and petitioned that the ordinances so made 'should not be of record as though they had been made by a general Parliament.' The king thereupon promised that steps should be taken to publish the Ordinances of the Staple and that in the next Parliament they should be rehearsed and put on the Roll of Parliament. Next year a Parliament, duly constituted, confirmed the Ordinances 'to be held for a Statute to endure always' and provided against further dealing with the matter save by consent of Parliament.

ii. Rot.
Parl. 253,
257.

The confusion between Statute and Ordinance gradually passed away, but as it passed away the Crown came to assert as a part of its prerogative the right to legislate independently and so to make the work of Parliament needless, or to interfere by saving clauses and dispensations with the operation of Statutes, and so to make the work of Parliament nugatory. The Royal Proclamations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries form the battleground of the old controversy which is fought under changed names, and the right of the Crown to tax or to legislate without Parliamentary sanction is asserted and disputed in one form or another from the Ordinance of the Staple to the Bill of Rights.

¹ The staple seems to have been a system for the regulation of markets in certain towns, where goods were brought for sale and sold after trial of their quality to merchants who had a monopoly in dealing with such goods. The market and the monopoly were alike matters of royal grant, and were granted in return for contribution to royal revenue.

§ 3. The share of the Crown in framing Laws.

Statutes
drafted by
Crown on
petition of
Estates.

The difficulties which arose from the mode of procedure in framing and passing laws were of a different kind. At the outset of our Parliamentary history statutes were drafted and enacted by the Crown in Council on the petition of the estates of the realm, and the first questions arose upon the necessity for the assent of all to the petitions of each.

Was it
requisite
that all
estates
should
concur?

The procedure of early Parliaments is obscure, and for our purposes not very important. The date at which Lords and Commons held separate sessions is uncertain, if indeed it is certain that they ever sat together. The fact that the baronage, the clergy, the knights, and the burgesses voted money in different proportions suggests, not two sessions, but four. At any rate, by the year 1341 the clergy had ceased to attend, and the Lords and Commons sat apart. But the necessity for a concurrence in legislation of the two estates which constituted Parliament does not seem to have been recognized for some time after the Statute of Edward II had ostensibly secured the legislative rights of the Commons.

Apart from the Statute *Quia Emptores* passed *instantia magnatum*, which belongs to an earlier date, we may accept in proof the statement of Dr. Stubbs that 'although in 1340, 1344, and 1352 the statutes passed at the petition of the clergy received the assent of the Commons, it seems almost certain that from time to time statutes or ordinances were passed by the king at their request without such assent¹'.

The abstention of the clergy, as an estate, from Parliament settled any question that might have arisen as to the need of their assent to petitions of the Lords or Commons, and throughout the fourteenth century the Commons adopted and merged the separate petitions of the 'magnates' in their own, even in matters such as the trial of peers, which exclusively concerned the Upper House.

Double
capacity of
peers.

The twofold duties of the peers as an estate of the realm

¹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 595.

and as councillors of the Crown, makes it difficult throughout the fourteenth century to discover how far their concurrence in the petitions of the Commons was needful to secure the assent of the Crown. For the king might be moved to reject a petition either because the Lords did not concur in it, sitting as a House of Parliament, or because they advised him to refuse it in their capacity of councillors of the Crown.

Setting aside these questions of initiation and concurrence as relating to exceptional cases, we may pass to the ordinary mode of legislation by statute made on petition of the Commons. The king summoned a Parliament, partly for advice, mainly for supply. Having stated his need of a grant of money, the Commons stated their need of legislation, usually for the maintenance of customs or the correction of their abuse. Grievances came before supply, and the grant of money might perhaps depend upon the answers received by the Commons to their petitions. Hence the ordinary form of words intended to imply rejection was constructed so as to seem to mean merely a postponement. A favourable answer was couched in the words, 'le roy le veut,' an unfavourable answer in the words, 'le roy s'avisera.'

But an affirmative answer to their petition did not necessarily give to the Commons all that they desired in the way of legislation. Under the most favourable circumstances the king, with the assistance of his council, framed a law in accordance with the terms of the petition, and this law was engrossed in the Statute Book; or if the matter was of temporary importance it was regulated by ordinance in letters patent.

But the wishes of the Commons were apt to be defeated in various ways even though their petitions had received the royal assent. For sometimes it was either forgotten or intentionally laid aside after Parliament had broken up, and then no law was made. Sometimes a law was made, but not in accordance with the terms of the petition. Sometimes the law was made in a satisfactory form, but accompanied with

Imperfect
security
for effec-
tive legis-
lation.

saving clauses which enabled the king to suspend it for a time, or dispense with its operation in certain cases.

Attempts to obtain it. The Commons attempted in many ways to secure that their petitions, when answered in the affirmative, should be made into statutes in the form and to the intent required, and free from the possibility of suspension or revocation.

They asked to have the answers of the king set forth in writing and sealed, so that they might be assured of a correspondence between answer and petition. They annexed conditions to the grant of supply to the effect that the petitions exhibited by Lords and Commons should be affirmed just as they had been granted by the king. Their efforts seem to have been chiefly directed to procuring the due enactment in Statute or Ordinance of such provisions as were intended to be respectively permanent or temporary, and one may suspect from the tenor of the frequent petitions of the Commons that the king was apt to employ the revocable form of Ordinance where the Commons desired the permanent form of Statute, and to issue charters or letters patent instead of entering the required provisions on the Statute Roll.

The Commons seem to make a nearer approach to a control over the details of legislation when they petition, as they did in the reign of Henry V, that no statute should be enacted without their consent, and receive for answer 'the king of his grace especial granteth that from henceforth no thing be enacted to the petitions of his Comune that be contrarie of their asking whereby they should be bound without their assent. Saving alway to our liege lord his royal prerogative to grant and deny what him lust of their petitions and asking aforesaid.' The growing influence of the Commons in legislation is marked by the changes in the form of the enacting clause of statutes.

Forms of enactment. The Statute of Westminster i. is thus described as 'Etablissement le Roi Edward fait par son conseil et par l'assentement des Erceveques, Eveques, Abbes, Priors, Countes, Barons, et la comminalte de la terre illoque somous.' From the year 1318

until the accession of Edward III Statutes are expressed to be made by the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and the commonalty of the realm. From the commencement of the reign of Edward III the mode of legislation upon petition finds expression in the words 'at the request of the Commons,' though sometimes both Houses are described as petitioners, as in the form 'Le roy supplie feust par les Prelats, Countes, Barons, et les communaltez.'

It is not till the 11th of Henry VI that the words 'by authority of Parliament' come in, thereby placing the Houses upon a level in legislative power; and a little before that date the 'request' of the Commons begins to drop out. The enacting clauses are not uniform, but gradually throughout the reign of Henry VI statutes ceased to be enacted by the *request* of the Commons and are enacted by the *authority* of Parliament, and from the 1st of Henry VII the *request* is never revived.

§ 4. *Commencement of modern procedure.*

But the substantial remedy for the difficulty which I have described was found when, as took place in the reign of Henry VI, the Commons adopted the practice of framing their petitions in statutory form, and requested that the form should not be altered. Dr. Stubbs tells us that this custom was introduced 'first in the legislative acts which were originated by the king'¹; an early instance of its adoption by the Commons is to be found in the Parliament Rolls of 1429, when they ask that 'the Bill which is passed by the Communes of yis present Parliament; hit lyke unto ye king by yadvys of the Lordys Spirituell and Temporell in yis present Parlement, yat graciously hit may be answered after the tenure and fourme yeroſ.'

The Commons draft
the bills
they want.

Rot. Parl.
iv. 359.

There is a further indication of the change in the not unfrequent use of the expression, 'billa formam actus in se

¹ Const. Hist. iii. 463.

continens¹: meaning that the 'bill,' which in Parliament, as in the Chancery, was the usual vehicle for a petition, did not contain a petition only, but the scheme or draft of a statute.

Three readings.

It is not easy to ascertain the commencement of the practice of reading a petition or bill three times, and to say when the Lords read and considered and rejected such a petition acting as a House of Parliament, and no longer as Councillors of the king and as parties to his decision.

For our purposes it is enough to note that by the reign of Henry VII, Parliamentary procedure, so far as legislation is concerned, had assumed its present form after passing through the phases which I have described. In the reign of Henry VIII we can trace in the Lords' Journals the entire course of a bill through that House², and when we begin the Commons Journals with the reign of Edward VI, we find the three readings to be the practice of the lower House also.

Effect of new procedure;

Different as was the practice of a mediæval Parliament to that of the Parliaments of our own time, we can trace even in the conduct of legislation during the fourteenth century the rudiments of modern procedure. The king opened Parliament

¹ The phrase perhaps survives in the modern heading of a bill sent from one or other House 'A bill intituled an Act.'

² It may be interesting to trace the progress of a bill through the House of Lords, 1 Hen. VIII.

' 8^o die Parlamenti.

' Item Billa de Foresta, et de feris extra suas clausuras parcas sive indagines licite venandis, et interficiendis lecta est jam primo.

' 12^o die Parlamenti.

' Item Billa de Foresta et feris extra parcas et forestas interficiendis, lecta est jam secunda vice.

' 14^o die Parlamenti sexto Februarii.

' Item Billa de Foresta et feris extra parcas sive forestas venandis et interficiendis lecta est jam tertio cui omnes Domini assensum prebuerunt.

' 15^o die Parlamenti.

' Item Billa de feris extra parcas et forestas venandis missa est in domum inferiorem, nuntio clerico Parlamenti.

' 23^o die Parlamenti.

' A domo inferiori adducte sunt sex Bille

' 1 De Forestis quem approbat Domus inferior. Expedita.'

with a statement of his wants and a promise to redress grievances; petitions were based upon grievances and presented before the grant of supply: the petitions and the subsequent grants passed from Commons to Lords, and received the royal assent in words still in use. When the intended statute was drawn up in a bill, and no longer left in the inchoate form of petition, it offered fuller opportunities for discussion and probably rendered necessary a close attention to procedure and the rules of debate.

But the form of legislation by bill presented for the acceptance or rejection of the Crown did much more than help to formulate Parliamentary procedure, or to secure the due effect of the royal assent to a petition. It established the distinction between Executive and Legislature, the Crown in Council and the Crown in Parliament; and though in seeming it was merely a change from the suggestion of a topic of legislation to the suggestion of a topic clothed in the form of legislation, it really laid the foundation of the omnipotence of Parliament.

Until this mode of legislation came into practice, the Houses had petitioned the crown for the redress of public grievances, just as the suitor petitioned the Crown in Chancery for the redress of a private and individual grievance. The legislative act came from the Crown, and though Lords and Commons might complain of legislation, which was not initiated or embodied in their petitions, yet such legislation did take place from time to time, and all laws were left to the Crown to make, and depended for form and time of making upon the pleasure of the Crown.

But when the Houses of Parliament took into their own hands the drafting of Statutes, their demands for legislation became definite and urgent; the laws which they desired to see made could not be varied, postponed or nullified. They no longer asked the Crown to assent to the making of a law on a given subject, and then to make one, but they asked it to say 'yes' or 'no,' to the passing of a law drawn in the form in

which they wished it to pass, and no longer admitting of amendment.

When the Crown could no longer control legislation, except by refusing assent to laws framed and presented for its acceptance or rejection, there had plainly arisen a new legislative power outside the executive. The Houses and the Crown had changed places: the assent of the former had hitherto been required to measures generally initiated by them, but always framed by the Crown: henceforth assent or rejection was all that was left to the Crown in dealing with measures initiated, framed and passed by the House.

A full account of the antiquities of Parliamentary procedure might fill a volume with interesting matter, but the brief sketch which I have just given may suffice as an introduction to what is important for my present purpose, the mode in which laws are framed and passed at the present time.

SECTION II.

ORDINARY PROCEDURE OF THE HOUSES. PUBLIC BILLS.

§ 1. *Business of each day.*

In order to follow the process of legislation it is necessary to consider, however, briefly and in outline the forms of business of the Houses, because it is somewhat difficult to trace the steps by which a bill becomes law, if those steps traverse a region with which the reader is wholly unfamiliar. Perhaps the simplest way of getting at the procedure of the House of Commons will be to take the Standing Order, which states the ordinary business of the day, to consider what the various items of business mean, and to select for further inquiry so much as is relevant to my present purpose.

Standing Order No. 98 runs thus:—

The House generally proceeds each day with: 1. Private Business; 2. Public Petitions; 3. Giving Notices of Motions; 4. Unopposed Motions for Returns; 5. Motions for leave of Absence; 6. Questions; 7. Orders of the Day and Notices of Motions as set down in the Order Book.

I will examine these in order.

1. *Private business* means private bill legislation, and I propose to defer the treatment of this until I have concluded the more important topic of public bill legislation.

2. *Public Petitions* are petitions from localities or bodies of persons relating to matters of public policy and general concern which are under the consideration of Parliament, or which it is desired to bring under the consideration of Parliament. They must be distinguished from the private petitions which form the first stage in private bill legislation. These public petitions are a feature in the aspect of Parliament as the Grand Inquest of the nation, and I shall have more to say of them in the concluding chapter of this book. ^{Post ch. x.} § 4

3. *Giving notices of motion.* 'Every member,' says Sir E. May, 'is entitled to propose a question, which is called moving the House, or, more commonly, making a motion: but in order to give the House due notice of his intention and to secure an opportunity of being heard, it has long been customary to give the House notice of his intention, and to have it entered in the Order book or Notice paper.'

The precedence of these questions is established as follows. A member who desires to propose a question to the House must, in the first instance, place his name upon the notice paper. Each name on the notice paper is numbered, and when the time for this part of the business of the House arrives, the numbers are all put into a ballot box, shuffled, and drawn out one by one by an assistant clerk. As each number is drawn, the name of the member to whom it belongs is called by the Speaker. The member thereupon gives notice of his motion and gets priority of choice of day and hour according to the order in which his number comes out of the ballot box.

4. *Motions for Returns* are motions for accounts or papers to be supplied to the House. If no opposition is raised to such motions they are allowed to come on in the place assigned to them in the list of business in the Standing Orders. ^{Motions for returns,}

for leave of absence. 5. *Motions for Leave of Absence.* A member is supposed to be always in attendance upon the House ; if, therefore, he desires to be absent for any time, he must apply for the leave of the House, and this may be granted or refused¹.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when members did not live with the fear of the constituencies before their eyes, absence without leave was regarded as a serious impediment to business. Nowadays the evil remedies itself : a constituency will not return a member who neglects his duties ; but when the constituencies did not know or did not care how far their members attended to the business of the House, it was necessary to deal with the matter otherwise.

^{6 Hen. VIII, c. 16.} Thus an Act of Henry VIII exonerates a shire or borough from payment of wages to members who left Parliament before the end of the Session without a licence from the Speaker, which licence was to be ‘entered of record in the book of the clerk of the Parliament appointed for the Commons House.’ And the House seems to have been inclined to treat as vacant the seat of a member who, from his engagements elsewhere, was unable to take part in the business of the House.

Thus on the 18th of February, 1625, ‘Mr. Gay informeth the House that he is returned a burgess for the City of Bath, and is mayor of the same city ; and besides, one of the principal men of their city hath murthered himself, and his wife ; and that the mayor is the only coroner, and therefore desireth leave to go home.

‘Referred to the Committee of Privileges whether a new writ shall issue.

‘Resolved, upon the causes alleged by Mr. Gay, he shall have liberty to depart home to the City of Bath, about those affairs².’

The House, as has been already noticed, in dealing with the disqualification of unsoundness of mind, is now reluctant to declare a seat vacant on the ground of incapacity to attend

¹ 82 Com. Jour. 376.

² Com. Jour. 821.

Parliament. But a member who contumaciously refuses to fulfil the duties of membership may be placed in the custody of the Serjeant-at-arms, and though the only recent case of this nature relates to attendance at a Committee¹, there seems no reason why non-attendance after leave of absence refused should not be treated as a contempt.

6. *Questions.* These are inquiries addressed to Ministers Questions. of the Crown, or to members concerned in the business of the House, on matters connected with the business of Parliament or with the administration of government. Such inquiries ought not to be of an argumentative character, but should be so framed as merely to elicit the information wanted. Nor should the answer do more than convey such information, though a Minister of the Crown may sometimes go further in the way of explanation: and he may also, in the interest of the public service, decline to answer the question.

7. *Orders of the Day and Notices of Motion.* These are Orders of either matters which the House has ordered to be discussed on the day. a given day, or matters of which notice has been given, and which come on for discussion in their order of priority on the day selected by the mover.

There are certain days in the week appropriated to the discussion of matters which the House collectively has ordered to be discussed. These are Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays². On all these days except Wednesday the Government Ministry has the right of placing first on the Orders of the day such matters introduced by the Government as the House has ordered to be discussed, and on Friday the first order is the Committee of Supply or Ways and Means.

Notices of Motion, therefore, come first only on Tuesdays, though on Fridays, when Supply is the order of the day, there is a certain latitude of preliminary discussion which I will describe hereafter.

¹ Case of Mr. Smith O'Brien, lxxxv Hansard 1291. And see case of Mr. J. P. Hennessy, civi Hansard 1931.

² The House only sits on Saturday, by special resolution, and rarely for the transaction of any but Government business.

§ 2. A Public Bill in the Commons.

When a bill first comes before the House it must come on in the form of a notice of motion. A bill may take its origin from the Lords or the Commons, but it will be convenient to trace it through its progress to the maturity of a Statute beginning, as most important bills begin, in the House of Commons. I will then point out such difference of procedure as may be noticeable when a bill takes its origin in the House of Lords.

Motion for leave to introduce a bill. First, the member who desires to introduce a measure gives notice, as above described, of his intention to do so. When the motion comes on in its order, he moves for leave to introduce a bill, using no more words, usually, than are necessary to explain its purport. Thereupon an order of the House is made that the Bill be prepared and brought in by the mover and seconder, other names being sometimes added by the House. The Bill may then immediately be presented, which is done by the member appearing at the bar, whereupon the Speaker calls upon him by name, he calls out, 'A Bill, Sir,' and is desired by the Speaker to bring it up. He brings it to the table, and delivers it to the clerk of the House, by whom its title is read aloud. The questions that a bill 'be now read a first time,' and that it be printed, are put without amendment or debate: an order is then made that it be read a second time on a day named.

First reading. The Bill then takes its place among the orders of the day, and when the second reading comes on in due course a motion is made, and question put 'that the Bill be now read a second time.' This is the point at which the general principle of the bill is most frequently and fully discussed and its fate decided.

Second reading. An opponent may move that the bill be read a second time that day six months, which shelves it for the Session, or may meet the motion with a direct negative which shelves it for the day, or may move, by way of amendment, resolutions which affect or alter the character of the bill.

If the bill passes its second reading it is committed to a Committee of the whole House. Such a Committee is appointed by a resolution 'that this House will resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House.' The Speaker thereupon puts the question, 'that I do leave the Chair.' This being agreed to, he leaves the chair, and the Chairman of Committee presides. The bill is then discussed in detail clause by clause. At the conclusion of each sitting of the House in Committee on the Bill, the Speaker resumes the chair; the Chairman of the Committee reports that progress had been made with the bill, and asks for leave to sit again; and the House orders that the Committee shall resume its work on a given day. While the bill is in Committee, amendments may be made in any part of it. The clauses are taken one by one, and each may be altered or omitted; but new clauses cannot be added until the conclusion of the discussion on the existing clauses.

When the bill has gone through Committee, the Chairman reports to the House to that effect, and an order is made for the consideration of the bill as amended, on a day named. On such Re-commitment. consideration further amendments may be made and new clauses added, and if these amendments are of a complicated character the bill may be re-committed, gone through again in Committee, and again reported for the consideration of the House.

After the bill as amended has been taken into consideration, a motion is made that the bill be read a third time, and the third reading is usually followed by the question, 'that this bill do pass.' On this being carried, an order is made that the clerk 'carry the bill to the Lords, and desire their concurrence,' and the bill is endorsed with the words *soit bâillé au seigneur.*

§ 3. *Exceptional procedure.*

Before proceeding to follow the fate of a bill in the House of Lords, I will mention two points of some importance in which the procedure above described is not applicable.

The first relates to the mode in which bills on certain sub-^{Bills relating to Religion,} subjects are required to be introduced. By standing orders (345,

Trade, 346, 347) of the House no bill relating to Religion or the alteration of the laws relating to Religion, and no bill relating to Trade or the alteration of the laws relating to Trade, may be brought in until the proposition has been considered in a Committee of the whole House. Nor will the House proceed upon any Petition, Motion, or Bill, for granting any money or for releasing or compounding any sum of money owing to the Crown, except in a Committee of the whole House.

Money grants must originate in Committee.

This means that bills upon such subjects require to be founded upon Resolutions passed in Committee.

Omitting from our present consideration the last topic referred to (Petitions, Motions, or Bills for granting money), as matter for future discussion, we must note that there are certain matters of legislation which begin with a proceeding preliminary to the proceedings just described: they are considered in Committee as abstract propositions, and the Committee reports upon them before a motion is made for leave

Illustration: Irish Church Bill, 1869.

to bring in a bill upon the subject. Thus in the case of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869, the proceedings began with a resolution in a Committee of the whole House moved by Mr. Gladstone, 'That the Chairman be directed to move the House that leave be given to bring in a Bill to put an end to the Establishment of the Irish Church, and to make provision in respect of the temporalities thereof, and in respect of the Royal College of Maynooth.' This resolution being carried was reported to the whole House, which was at once moved for leave to bring in the Bill, the Bill was ordered to be brought in, was presented and read a first time on the same evening.

Standing Committees for law, and trade.

The second matter is the creation in the year 1882 of two standing Committees, one to deal with bills relating to law, the Courts of Justice, and legal procedure; the other with bills relating to trade, shipping, and manufactures, if such bills should be committed to them by order of the House.

This plan is a compromise between the occasional practice of committing bills to a select Committee of 15 members, and

the general practice of considering them in Committee of the whole House. The Committee consists of not less than 60 or more than 80 members, and its consideration and report of bills is to be equivalent to a consideration and report by a Committee of the whole House. It was hoped that this arrangement would diminish the length and irrelevance of discussions upon public bills, especially public bills which might contain provisions of a technical character. The Bankruptcy Act, 1883, was the work of such a Committee, but beyond this the success of the scheme has not been great.

§ 4. *A Bill in the Lords.*

After noting these possible variations in procedure, I will now resume the history of a bill at the point at which it is sent up to the House of Lords with a message that the Commons desire their concurrence. The bill is commonly ordered at once to be presented and read a first time: it then remains on the table of the House of Lords, and if twelve days pass while the House is sitting, and no notice is given of the second reading of the bill, it ceases to appear on the minutes and is dropped for the Session. But if the bill is taken up by a member of the House, the procedure is in no way different from the procedure in the House of Commons. The bill may be accepted by the Lords without amendment, and then after the third reading it is not returned to the Commons, but a message is sent that the Lords have agreed to the said bill without any amendment. If, however, the Lords amend the bill they return it after the third reading with a message that they agree to the bill with amendments to which they desire the concurrence of the Commons, and endorsed with the words, *A ceste bille avecque des amendemens les seigneurs sont assentus.*

The Commons may agree or disagree with the Lords amendments to their bill; whether they agree or disagree the bill is returned with a message to that effect; but if they agree the bill is endorsed with the words *A ces amendemens les communes*

sunt assentus. Should the disagreement continue and neither House be willing to accept the bill in the form which is satisfactory to the other, there are two modes by which the reasons of difference may be stated so as to bring about an agreement. One of these is a Conference, the other is a statement of reasons drawn up by the Committee of the dissentient House and sent to the other with amended bill.

A Conference.

A Conference is a formal meeting of members appointed by their respective Houses; these members are called Managers. The Managers on behalf of the dissentient House are entrusted with the drafting of reasons for their disagreement, and with the task of reading and delivering them to the Managers of the other House. No argument is used or comment made unless the conference be a free conference, in which case each set of Managers endeavours by persuasion to convince the others or in some way to effect an agreement between the Houses.

A free Conference.

The ceremony of a conference is extremely formal: the Lords sit; the Commons stand: the Commons are bare-headed; the Lords, except when speaking, are only required to take off their hats as they approach and leave their seats.

Reasons assigned in lieu of conference.

Practically conferences are not resorted to at the present time. No free conference has been held since 1836, and in 1851 the Houses by resolutions agreed to receive reasons for disagreement or for insistence on amendments in the form of messages, unless a conference should be specially demanded by one or other House.

Illustration:
The Irish Land Act, 1881.

The way in which the Houses come to terms may be illustrated by some entries from the Journals of 1881 respecting the Irish Land Act.

The Lords sent back the bill to the Commons with amendments to which the Commons could not agree. It was thereupon 'Ordered That a Committee be appointed to draw up reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to the amendments made by their Lordships to the bill':—and a committee was appointed consisting of Mr. Gladstone and others: 'and they are to withdraw immediately.'

The Committee reported very shortly after, and it was ‘Ordered That a message be sent to the Lords to communicate the said reasons (with the Bill and amendments): and that the Clerk do carry the same.’

The Lords disagreed to the amendments of the Commons, and in like manner communicated their reasons for disagreement by message; and after further communications of this nature, ‘A message was sent to the House of Commons by Sir William Rose, Clerk of the Parliaments’:

‘To acquaint them, “That the Lords agree to the amendments made by the Commons to the further amendments made by the Lords, and to the consequential amendments made by the Commons to the said Bill, and do not insist upon their amendments to the said Bill to which the Commons have disagreed.”’

The progress of a bill, which takes its origin in the House of Lords, differs from that of one which is begun in the House of Commons only in some matters of form too slight and technical to be noticed here.

But when a bill has passed both Houses it is ripe for the royal assent, which transmutes it from a proposed law to an actual law. The form in which the royal assent is given may properly be deferred till we come to consider the functions of the Crown in Parliament.

SECTION III.

MONEY BILLS.

§ 1. *History and General Rules.*

Legislation which has for its object the grant of public money, or the imposition of burdens upon the taxpayer, possesses some special features which require to be specially noted.

In the first place such legislation is under the entire control of the House of Commons.

A bill relating to Supply must begin in the House of

General
rules.

Commons. It is formulated there, and though it needs the concurrence of the Lords it cannot be amended by them on its way to receive the royal assent.

In the second place such legislation only takes place on recommendation from the Crown :

In the third place such legislation must commence in a Committee of the whole House.

History.

We need not trace this right further back than the reign of Richard II, when, as Dr. Stubbs tells us, it became the practice 'that all grants should be made by the Commons with the advice and assent of the Lords, in a documentary form which may be termed an act of the Parliament¹'.

The right seems on one occasion to have been disregarded, though not with any design to override the privileges of the Commons, by Henry IV, with the result that the Commons obtained after a remonstrance a formal recognition that the grant was theirs. Henry IV, in the year 1407, commenced the financial business of the Session by a discussion with the Lords as to the probable requirements of the service of the year, and the Commons were summoned to be told the result of the discussion. The Commons complained of the prejudice to their liberties which this action involved, and the king at once gave way, and while maintaining the right of the Lords to deliberate with the king on the needs of the kingdom, decided that neither House should make any report to the king on a grant made by the Commons and agreed to by the Lords, or on any negotiations concerning the same until both Houses were agreed, and that the report should then be made by the Speaker of the House of Commons, 'par bouche de Purparlour de la dite Commune.'

Commons
claim to be
necessary
parties to
grant,

then that
the grant
is theirs,

Until the reign of Charles I the grant was not recited in the preamble of the act which legalised the subsidies as the grant of the Commons alone, but in the year 1625, in the act 'for the graunt of two entire subsidies graunted by the Tem-

¹ Const. Hist. iii. 459.

poralitie,' it is 'your Commons assembled in your High Court of Parliament' who grant the subsidies.

So far the Commons claimed that the grant of supplies that Lords should be regarded as theirs; later in the seventeenth century ^{must not amend,} they went further and denied the right of the House of Lords to interfere by amendment or alteration. They resolved in 1671, 'That in all aids given to the king by the Commons, the rate or tax ought not to be altered¹', and again in 1678, 'That all aids and supplies, and aids to his Majesty in Parliament *are the sole gift of the Commons*: and all bills for the granting of any such aids and supplies *ought to begin with the Commons*: and that it is the undoubted and sole right of the Commons to direct limit and appoint in such bills the ends, purposes, considerations, conditions, limitations, and qualifications of such grants: *which ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords*²'.

Thus far the Lords would appear to have retained a power ^{may not reject.} of rejection, and this, though rarely exercised, was not denied until the year 1860. In that year the Commons, among other provisions for the supplies to be granted, made a readjustment of taxation, increasing the property-tax and stamp-duties and repealing the duty on paper. The Lords assented to the bills providing for the proposed increase of taxation, but when the bill for the repeal of the paper duties came before them they rejected it.

The Commons met this action on the part of the Lords by ^{Resolutions of 1860.} resolutions which set forth the privileges of the House in the matter of taxation, and which, while they did not deny that the Lords might have a power of rejecting money bills, intimated that the Commons had it always in their power so to frame money bills as to make the right of rejection nugatory.

The Resolutions were three in number.

The first recites that the right of granting aids and supplies to the Crown is in the Commons alone.

¹ 9 Com. J. 235.

² 9 Com. J. 509.

The second, that although the Lords have exercised the power of rejecting bills of several descriptions relative to taxation, by negativing the whole, yet the exercise of that power by them has not been frequent, and is justly regarded by this House with peculiar jealousy, as affecting the right of the Commons to grant the supplies, and to provide the ways and means for the service of the year.

The third, that to guard for the future against an undue exercise of that power by the Lords, and to secure to the Commons their rightful control over Taxation and Supply, this House has in its own hands the power to impose and remit taxes, and to frame bills of supply, that the right of the Commons as to the matter, manner, measure, or time, may be maintained inviolate.

But though in the consideration of the constitutional rules which relate to money bills, the exclusive right of the Commons to deal with such bills is the topic most frequently dwelt upon, the second rule which I propose to note can hardly be said to be less important.

No petition for any sum relating to the public service, nor any motion for a grant or charge upon the public revenue, whether payable out of the Consolidated Fund, or out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, will be received, or proceeded with unless recommended from the Crown¹.

Money only granted on recommendation from the Crown.

The House therefore, while it can determine the amount of money which shall be granted and the sources from which that money shall be drawn, has absolutely precluded itself from determining that any money shall be granted at all, unless the proposal for a grant emanates from the Crown.

The responsible advisers of the Crown, the ministers of state, are alone capable of proposing that public money should be raised, or, if already raised, should be spent; and the House would not entertain a motion by a private member for a specific outlay on any object which he might consider deserving of public

¹ Standing Order, 406.

support. The relations of Crown, Lords, and Commons in respect of money grants cannot be better stated than in the words of Sir Erskine May.

'The Crown demands money, the Commons grant it, and Money is granted by the Lords assent to the grant; but the Commons do not vote the Commons on money unless it be required by the Crown; nor impose or request of augment taxes, unless they be necessary for meeting the supplies which they have voted or are about to vote, and for supplying general deficiencies in the revenue. The Crown has no concern in the nature or distribution of the taxes: but *the foundation of all parliamentary taxation is its necessity for the public service as declared by the Crown through its constitutional advisers*¹.'

It is possible for any member of the House of Commons to move a resolution to the effect that public money might profitably be expended upon purposes specified in the resolution; and if the House agree to the motion it thereby commits itself to a general approval of such an outlay. But it would not be in accordance with the rules of the House for a private member to move that a specific sum be granted for a specific purpose; such a motion could only proceed from a minister of the Crown. For it cannot be too strongly impressed upon the student of constitutional law, that all the money spent upon public service is spent by the Crown; that all the money granted for the public service is granted by the Commons, and that the Commons have imposed upon themselves a rule that they will not grant a penny unless it is asked for by a minister representing the Crown for a purpose specified in the terms of his request.

Such a rule is the great safeguard of the tax-payer against the casual benevolence of a House wrought upon by the eloquence of a private member; against a scramble for public money among unscrupulous politicians bidding against one another for the favour of a democracy. But the rule is not law. Like all other resolutions or standing orders of either

¹ May, Parliamentary Practice, 604.

House it is a self-imposed rule made by a public body for the guidance of its procedure. It could be altered almost as easily as a College by-law, quite as easily as a rule of the Marylebone Cricket Club. Yet some of the most valuable parts of our constitution are to be found either in practices which depend upon simple usage, or upon rules as insecure as the standing order which I have just described.

The last characteristic which I propose to note respecting money bills is, that by a Standing Order of the House agreed to on the 29th March, 1707, 'the House will not proceed upon any petition, motion, or bill, for granting any money, or for releasing or compounding any sum of money owing to the Crown, but in a Committee of the whole House.' And this brings me to the actual process by which the House grants supplies to the Crown.

§ 2. *Committee of Supply.*

The sources of royal revenue and the checks on departmental expenditure are not what I am here concerned with. These topics will form a separate chapter of that part of my work which deals with the Executive. What we must here consider is how the House of Commons grants supplies to the Crown, how it indicates the sources whence those supplies are to be drawn, how it appropriates the supplies granted to the services for which the grant is made.

Committee of Supply. As soon as the House of Commons has agreed upon an address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, it passes two resolutions—one that on a certain day it will resolve itself into Committee of Supply; another that on a certain day it will resolve itself into Committee of Ways and Means.

Estimates of the items of expense of different departments are presented to the House by the ministers responsible for the departments respectively, and on the day fixed the House goes into Committee of Supply or postpones the sitting of that Committee until a later day.

Until the year 1882 it was the rule that before going into

Committee of Supply, and on the motion being made and question put that 'Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,' it was open to any member to move any amendment, however Grievances irrelevant, the practice being illustrative of the maxim that ^{proceed} supply. redress of grievances precedes the grant of supplies. Thus, on a night intended to be devoted to supply, the motion that 'Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair' might be met by an amendment in the form of a motion for the establishment of a harbour on the coast of Donegal, or a lighthouse on an island in the Red Sea.

Among the rules of procedure settled in 1882 was one which provided that when the first order of the day on Mondays and Thursdays is that the House go into Committee of Supply, the Speaker should leave the chair without any question being put, and thus no amendment can on such occasions be moved.

When the House has gone into Committee, the estimates ^{Proceed-} put down for discussion are considered. The minister responsible for them may make, as in the case of the army and the navy estimates, a general statement on the estimates as a whole, after which the items are separately discussed and voted upon.

At the conclusion of each sitting the Committee resolve 'to report progress and ask leave to sit again.'

The Speaker then resumes the chair, and the Chairman of Committees reports:—(1) That the Committee has come to ^{and on} several resolutions. The House orders the reports to be ^{report.} received on a day named. (2) That the Committee ask leave to sit again. The House resolves that it will on a day named resolve itself again into Committee of Supply.

When the time comes for receiving the report the various items of supply agreed to be furnished are reported to the House, and it resolves that each item shall be granted to Her Majesty for the purpose specified.

At the end of the session all the resolutions of this nature passed during the Session are embodied in the Appropriation Act, to which we shall come presently.

§ 3. Committee of Ways and Means.

The Committee of Supply determines what money shall be granted to the Crown and for what purposes ; the Committee of Ways and Means determines how the money required shall be raised, or whence it shall be drawn. In order to understand the working of this Committee there are some facts about the revenue which it is necessary to bear in mind.

Some taxation is annual, some permanent.

The greater part of the revenue of the country is not granted annually by the Commons, but is settled and legalised by statutes which do not require an annual renewal. The great bulk of taxation goes on from year to year, unless Parliament should otherwise determine, and its proceeds are paid over to a fund called the Consolidated Fund.

Committee determines the source from which the supplies granted shall be drawn.

All the supplies granted must therefore come from one of two sources : from the proceeds of annual taxation, or from the proceeds of new taxation. It is for the Committee of Ways and Means to frame resolutions upon these questions and report them to the House. The Committee receives from the Chancellor of the Exchequer a financial statement for the coming year. He balances the expenditure of the year against the proceeds of the permanent taxes paid into the Consolidated Fund *plus* such additional taxation as he may think it necessary to recommend. The duties of the Committee of Ways and Means are therefore twofold—to meet the needs of Supply by grants from the Consolidated Fund ; and to adjust income to expenditure by manipulating the taxation of the year. The Committee reports its resolutions at the conclusion of each sitting ; as in the case of the Committee of Supply, the resolutions of the Committee are considered upon a subsequent day and adopted or rejected by the House ; and unless the work of the Committee is finished, an order is made that on a day named the House will again resolve itself into Committee of Ways and Means.

So much of the work of the Committee of Ways and Means as proposes new taxation passes, when adopted by the House,

into bills for the imposition of such taxation. So much of the work of the Committee as proposes grants from the Consolidated Fund passes, when adopted by the House, into an Appropriation Bill.

§ 4. *Appropriation Bill.*

In speaking of the Appropriation Bill I do not wish to anticipate what I may have to say hereafter as to the Treasury, Exchequer, and Audit Departments, and the various machinery by which it is secured that the intentions of Parliament as to the disposition of public money will be carried out. It is enough to say that none of the public money, that is, of the money constituting the revenue of the Crown, is paid except by Parliamentary authority, and that about two-thirds of the revenue of each year is appropriated to specific purposes in an Appropriation Act passed in that year.

For just as some taxation is annual while some does not require to be annually imposed, so some payments are annual grants, while some do not require to be annually sanctioned. To give illustrations: payments of the interest of the National Debt, and of the pension to the late Speaker are alike required, by the Statutes which authorise their payment, to be warranted and directed to be made by the Commissioners of the Treasury, and do not need to reappear annually in the estimates, and run the gauntlet of the Committee of Supply.

But the sums voted to meet the army, navy, and civil service estimates cannot be legally paid until they are embodied in the Appropriation Act; and the House of Commons, in order to get the supplies of the whole year into one bill, reserves the Appropriation Act until the close of the session.

Nevertheless, since money is often wanted for the public service some time before the Appropriation Act is passed, and inconvenience may be caused by delay in paying money to meet supplies which have been already granted by the Commons, it is customary to legalise the issue of certain

sums out of the Consolidated Fund, and to do this after supply has been agreed to in the Commons to the amount for which the issue is allowed, but some months before the Appropriation Act is passed. This may be done more than once during the session; and, at the end of it, these preliminary and less specific Appropriation Acts are embodied in the general Act which is passed at the close of the session, in which the items are all set out for which the earlier payments were legalised.

embodied
in the
Appropria-
tion Act.

When the Appropriation Bill has received the assent of the Lords it is returned to the Commons, and when the House is summoned for prorogation it is brought by the Speaker to the bar of the House of Lords, and handed by him to the Clerk of Parliaments to receive the assent of the Crown.

A bill for granting money to the Crown, whether the grant take the form of the imposition of new taxes, or of an appropriation of money out of the consolidated fund, is expressed differently to other bills in its enacting clause. It may be well to compare the forms.

Act for granting duties of Customs and Inland Revenue.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, towards raising the necessary supplies to defray Your Majesty's public expenses, and making an addition to the public revenue, have freely and voluntarily resolved to give and grant unto Your Majesty the several duties hereinafter mentioned, and do therefore most humbly beseech Your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows.

Appropriation Act.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in

Parliament assembled, towards making good the supply which we have cheerfully granted to Your Majesty in this session of Parliament, have resolved to grant unto Your Majesty the sum herein-after mentioned; and do therefore most humbly beseech Your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows.

SECTION IV.

PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION.

§ 1. *Historical outline.*

The passing of a private bill is, at the present time, a proceeding partly legislative, partly judicial. Such a bill commences by petition; it is furthered by persons outside the House, the promoters, who have some practical interest in the passing of the bill: it relates to matters of individual, local, or corporate interest. Although it passes through the forms of a public bill, and although these forms are a vital part of its progress, yet the most interesting and important stage of that progress is its passage through Committee, which is for the purpose of private bill legislation a select Committee of one or other House. This Committee acts as a judicial tribunal before whom counsel appear on behalf of the promoters or the opponents of the bill in question.

The history of private bill legislation might lead us to a great deal of very interesting inquiry concerning Parliamentary antiquities¹, but with these it is only possible to deal in the most general way. The petition with which the Bill commences was the one method in the middle ages by which rights might be acquired which the Common Law Courts could not confer or assure. If a man had to complain of inequitable dealings in the matter of property or contract,

¹ The learning of this subject is made extremely interesting in Mr. Clifford's work on Private Bill Legislation, where the historical side of the question is amply treated.

he petitioned the Crown or the Crown in Chancery. If he had to complain of violence or oppression, such as the ordinary courts could not or dared not redress, he petitioned the Crown in Council. If he was not in search of equity or of law, but wanted to get the law altered in his favour, he petitioned Parliament, sometimes addressing himself to King, Lords, and Commons, sometimes to Lords and Commons, sometimes to the Commons alone, sometimes to the king or to the king in Council.

Addressed
to Parlia-
ment.

See post
p. 309.

Cease in
time to be
wholly
personal.

The petitions from which private bill legislation takes its origin are those which it became the practice in the reign of Henry IV to address to Parliament, or to the Lords or the Commons¹. Such petitions were not handed, as in earlier procedure, to the Receivers and Triers of Petitions nominated (as they are still nominated) at the commencement of each Parliament. They went to the House to which they were addressed, generally the Commons, and after consideration there, were passed on with the endorsement '*soit baillé aux seigneurs.*' Such petitions were at first of a purely personal character, attainders or the reversal of attainders, rewards given or punishments inflicted in individual cases. Later comes local legislation, the regulation of fisheries, of the navigation of rivers, of harbours, the prevention of floods and the inclosure of commons. Last comes legislation on behalf of bodies incorporated for commercial purposes, requiring, in furtherance of those purposes, some interference with private rights. Such are the acts passed to confer powers on railway, gas and tramway companies, of which every session affords numerous examples.

'Private'
and 'Lo-
cal' Acts.

The first of these three groups is at the present time distinguished from the rest by the title of 'private Act,' and relates to naturalisation, to dealings with trust estates, in rare cases to divorce. The last two are included under the general term 'local Acts,' and cover almost the whole ground of private bill legislation.

¹ Stubbe, *Const. Hist.* iii. 460, and n. 4.

§ 2. Procedure in respect of Private bills.

It would be impossible without entering into technicalities and details unsuited to the compass and character of this book, to attempt to do more than give a very general outline of the process of private bill legislation. Enough may be said, however, to show the nature of these half legislative half judicial proceedings, and the care with which the Houses guard themselves against legislating in the interest of private persons or of corporations to the detriment of individual interests, unless they are satisfied that public purposes are to be attained for which individual interests may fairly be set aside with compensation for loss sustained.

By the 21st of December, in the year before the bill is Petition to be brought forward, a petition for the bill must be deposited in the Private Bill Office of the House of Commons, together with a copy of the bill and certain explanatory documents required by the standing orders of the House.

Here too are sent memorials, from parties interested in preventing the passing of the bill, to the effect that the standing orders of the House have not been complied with in the presentation of petition, bill, and documents.

On the 18th of January the petitions and memorials are dealt with by two Examiners, one appointed by the House of Lords, the other by the Speaker. If no one appears in support of a petition, it is struck out, but in the ordinary course the agent concerned in promoting the bill, offers proof that the Standing Orders have been satisfied; those who have presented memorials against the bill are heard, not on the merits of the bill, but on the preliminary question of compliance with the Standing Orders; witnesses are called; and at the conclusion of the hearing the petition is endorsed by the examiner and returned to the Private Bill Office. If the endorsement is to the effect that the Standing Orders have been complied with, no more is said; but if the examiner decides adversely to the petition on this point, he makes a

report to the House of Commons, and sends a certificate to the House of Lords to indicate the non-compliance.

Want of
compliance
may be
condoned
by House.

But the preliminaries are not yet over, nor is the bill lost because the examiner has found that the Standing Orders have not been complied with. The petition is in any case presented to the House of Commons by a member three days after indorsement, if reported against by the examiner it is referred to the Standing Orders Committee, consisting of eleven members of the House, who consider whether the Standing Orders may be dispensed with, and even if the Committee report adversely to the bill, their report may be overruled by the House.

So far the rules of the House are careful to provide that all persons interested in the proposed bill may have had full notice by advertisement, and full information by access to documents of the intention and nature of the proposed bill.

First
reading.

The bill is read a first time, and is then, upon notice given of the second reading, referred back to the Private Bill Office for examination, lest the form in which it is drawn should violate the Standing Orders, or depart from the terms in which leave was given for its introduction.

Second
reading.

It is then read a second time, and here if at all the general principle of the bill is discussed in the House: but the effect of a second reading is not, as in the case of a public bill, to affirm the principle of the bill, it merely indicates that the bill contains no obviously objectionable features.

Reference
to Com-
mittee.

When read a second time, the bill is committed. If it is a railway or canal bill, it goes to a standing committee for those matters: if it is not such a bill it goes to the committee of selection which arranges the bills and assigns them to committees consisting of four members and a referee.

Renewed
inquiries
as to form.

But further precautions are taken, before the Committee deals with the bill. The Chairman of Ways and Means for the Commons, and the Chairman of Committees for the House of Lords examine all bills before they are passed into

Committee, and the Chairman of Ways and Means has the assistance of the Counsel to the Speaker. They may report any special circumstances in connection with the bill either to the House or to the Chairman of the Committee, or may recommend that a bill to which no opposition has been offered should be treated as opposed. They may introduce amendments, within the scope of the bill, and amendments may be introduced by public departments interested in the matter of the bill, as the Board of Trade in a Railway Bill.

The Committee stage is the really interesting and exciting part of the career of a private bill, for there the judicial aspect of the House in its dealings with these measures is brought into strong light: and it appears in a judicial character not as in the preliminary stages of the bill to ensure compliance with forms of procedure, but to hear a keen and animated contest upon the merits of the bill conducted by counsel for the promoters and opponents, and supported by witnesses examined upon oath.

But the opponents of a bill have to go through various formalities before they are permitted to appear in that capacity. The opponent of a bill must first deposit a petition at the Private Bill Office within ten days after the first reading. He must then be prepared to meet objections raised by the promoters of the bill to his right to be heard, and such objections are raised and argued before a court of referees to determine the *locus standi* of petitioners against a bill. Questions of *locus standi* are argued by counsel before this court, and the right of an opponent to be heard in Committee against the whole or against any clauses of the Bill is there settled.

This is the process by which the right of opposing a bill or any part of a bill is ascertained and limited; when this is settled the Committee sits to hear the parties; counsel then appear for the promoters of the bill, and for the petitioners against it; witnesses are examined, and the whole proceeding is of a judicial character, though conducted before a tribunal not perhaps very familiar with judicial functions.

If the preamble of the bill is proved to the satisfaction of the Committee, the clauses are taken in order ; if the preamble is rejected the bill falls to the ground. When the Committee has been through the bill it is reported to the House, and its subsequent stages are similar to those of a public bill except in the form to be described presently in which it receives the Royal assent.

Much might be added as to the process of classification of private bills, and the details of procedure in respect of them. But since these are not matters of constitutional importance, and can easily be found in books of Parliamentary practice, I do not propose to carry the subject further.

Rules
governing
process of
Legisla-
tion.

As the ordinary course of Legislation depends almost entirely upon the rules which each House adopts for the regulation of its procedure, it is well to note that these fall into three classes.

There are *standing orders*, resolutions as to procedure, which each House intends to be permanent, and these, though they may at any time be repealed or suspended by resolution, endure from one Parliament to another in default of such repeal or suspension.

There are *sessional orders*, rules which last only for the session, and require to be renewed (*if they are to remain in force*) at the commencement of each session.

There are *indefinite orders* and resolutions. These would expire with the prorogation of Parliament unless they should be declaratory of some general custom which might pass into the unwritten or common law of Parliament.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CROWN IN PARLIAMENT.

I HAVE now traced the progress of a bill up to the point at which it has received the assent of both the Houses, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons in Parliament assembled. In order that it may become law it still requires the Royal assent; it requires to be enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

We come, therefore, to the functions of the Crown in Parliament, and in dealing with them I do not propose to confine myself to the action of the Crown in legislation, but to consider in other matters the relations of the Crown to Parliament; and these fall under three heads.

First, we may regard the Crown as constituting Parliament and bringing it to an end.

Secondly, we may regard the Crown as communicating its wishes or opinions or sending information to Parliament while Parliament is sitting.

Lastly, we may regard the Crown as a party to legislation, as giving validity to laws proposed by Parliament, as turning a bill into an act.

§ 1. The Crown as constituting Parliament.

It is the Crown which constitutes Parliament; the Houses meet by Royal invitation; they are opened by the Royal per-

mission ; they continue in existence and working during the Royal pleasure.

Securities
for sum-
mons and
session of
Parlia-
ment.

I have sufficiently described in an earlier chapter the process of summoning, opening, proroguing, and dissolving Parliament. It is, therefore, enough to note here what obligations rest upon the Crown to summon a Parliament, and, while it is in existence, to allow it to sit.

The Statutes bearing upon this subject are three ; and when these results are summed up it is difficult not to feel surprised at the scanty legal security of a direct character which exists for the summons and sitting of Parliament.

Annual
Parlia-
ments.

The first is 4 Ed. III, c. 14, which enacts that 'a Parliament shall be holden every year once, and more if need be' ; this was re-enacted in the thirty-sixth year of the same reign, but the words 'if need be' seem to have been treated as applying to the whole clause, and Parliaments were often intermitted for years together.

The second is 16 Car. II, c. 1. The Long Parliament had passed an act providing that if the king neglected to call a Parliament for three years, the peers might issue out writs, and that if the peers neglected to do so, the constituencies might elect a House of Commons for themselves. The loyalty of Parliament in 1664 repealed this statute as being 'in derogation of His Majesty's just rights and prerogative inherent to the imperial crown of this realm.' And indeed it proceeded on the assumption, reasonable in itself, though unhistorical, that the Lords and Commons assembled, not because the king wanted their advice, but because they desired, and because the constituents of the members of the Commons desired, that affairs of State should be discussed and the action of ministers considered by persons who, though not responsible, were interested in the conduct of affairs.

Triennial
Session.

16 Car. II, c. 1, repeals this act, and further provides that '*the sitting and holding of Parliament shall not be intermitted or discontinued above three years at the most.*'

The third is 6 Will. & Mary, c. 2, which provides, 'That

within three years at the farthest from and after the dissolution of the present Parliament, and so from time to time ever thereafter, within three years at the farthest from and after the determination of every other Parliament, legal writs under the great seal shall be issued by directions of your Majesties, your heirs and successors, for calling assembling and holding another Parliament.'

It would seem then that, apart from the general expression of the Act of Edward III the only statutory security which we possess for the frequent summons and sitting of Parliament, is the act of Charles II, providing that Parliament shall sit at least once in every three years, and the act of William and Mary to the effect that we shall not be more than three years without a Parliament.

Nor do the acts say what is to happen if the Crown fails to carry them into effect. The Long Parliament devised machinery to meet such a case, but subsequent Parliaments appear to have thought it disloyal to provide for the contingency that the Crown might not fulfil the Law.

It is sometimes said that the necessities of supply compel the Crown to an annual summons of Parliament. But, as I had occasion to say in speaking of the Committee of Ways and Means, so much of our taxation is now permanent that government might fairly be carried on for a while without those annual taxes which every session increases or diminishes.

It is not the need of supply, but of the appropriation of supply and of the Army Act, which makes it legally necessary for Parliament to sit every year. If Parliament did not appropriate the supplies of the year to specific purposes, the money which comes in on account of the various items of taxation could not legally be paid out to meet the services of the year, except in the case of such charges upon the revenue as are permanently authorised by statute. The interest upon the national debt would be paid, but not the wages of sailors serving on board of Her Majesty's ships, nor the regimental pay of Her Majesty's land forces. The annuity of the late

Speaker would be paid, but not the salaries of the law officers of the Crown, and of the Charity or Land Commissioners, or the bill for furniture in the public departments of Great Britain. Money would come in sufficient to meet some, though not all of these charges, but the authority to pay two-thirds of the nation's liabilities would be wanting, and there would be no one in the kingdom who could make the payments without committing a breach of duty.

and of the
Army Act.

¹ Will. &
Mary,
st. 2. c. 2.

And the absence of any authority to pay the officers and men in Her Majesty's army would not be the only difficulty which the army would occasion if the sitting of Parliament should be intermitted for a year. The existence of a standing army in time of peace is contrary to law. It is legalised each year for a year by the Army Act. Again, the punishments and procedure for the maintenance of discipline in a large body of troops are contrary to the common law of the land, as declared by several statutes. They too are legalised by the Army Act which brings into force each year, for a year, a code of military law. These are the only practical securities for the summons of Parliament with tolerable frequency, but they neither impose any penalty nor supply any alternative machinery in case the Crown should make default in fulfilling the Statutory requirements as to the issue of writs of summons.

§ 2. *The Crown in communication with Parliament.*

Speech
from the
Throne.

The Crown, if it desires to communicate with either House of Parliament, can only do so by speech from the throne at the opening and close of session or by message in one form or another. For though the Queen is entitled to be present on her throne during the debates in the House of Lords, she might not take part in them. The speech from the throne which opens and concludes the business of Parliament was formerly an address to both Houses delivered in person and capable of being charged with exhortation or rebuke adapted to the prospects or the history of the session. These speeches

now contain formal statements as to the foreign relations of the country, communications of topics of legislation to be proposed by ministers, remarks on the condition of trade, on the weather in connection with the harvest, and, at the close of the session, expressions of thanks for the supplies granted and of congratulations on the additions to the statute-book which the labours of the session have produced.

The presence of the king at the sittings of the House of Royal Lords in the mediaeval Parliaments appears to have been very common¹. The decision of Henry IV, relating to the right of the Commons to the exclusive dealing with supply, is called the 'Indemnity of the Lords and Commons'², and in so far as *Ante*, it contains a permission to the Lords to transact business in the absence of the Crown, it suggests that the House of Lords in the reign of Henry IV still retained so much of the character of the King's Council as to make the presence of the king necessary to the due transaction of its business.

But, however this may be, the practice had become so unusual by the reign of Charles II, that the Lords were uncertain what business of the House could be transacted in his presence. On one occasion Charles came unexpectedly into the House when it was sitting in Committee, and thereupon the sitting of the House was resumed. But the king said 'that he is come to renew a custom of his predecessors long discontinued, to be present at debates but not to interrupt the freedom thereof: and therefore desired the Lords to sit down, and put on their hats, and proceed with their business.' Whereupon 'the Lords again taking their places and putting on their hats the House was again adjourned into a Committee during pleasure.'

Charles II was a frequent attendant at debates, being present at as many as forty-three out of eighty-nine in the session of 1672-3, and upon one occasion in the session of 1671 he rebuked the Lords for their disorderly conduct, desiring them 'not to profane such a presence as this' ¹²Lords J. 413.

¹ Stubbs, Const. Hist. iii. 480.

² Rot. Parl. iii. 611.

with the like disorder, but keep their places and proceed with their businesses according to their orders prescribed in the House.'

From the death of Queen Anne the presence of king or queen during debates in Parliament has been discontinued. The ceremonies of opening, prorogation or dissolution of Parliament, and of giving the royal assent to bills are the only occasions on which the Queen is present in the House of Lords. Her presence during a debate in the House of Commons would be something very different from a revival of a practice long disused. Charles I is the only sovereign¹ who has thus ventured to violate the rights of the Commons to freedom and secrecy of debate. The Journals of the House for the 4th of January, 1642, contain the only precedent for a situation incompatible alike with the dignity of the Crown, and the privileges of the Commons.

The entry of the preceding business is interrupted, and the report runs:—

His Majesty came into the House and took Mr. Speaker's chair.

‘Gentlemen,

‘I am sorry to have this occasion to come unto you.’

The journal breaks off abruptly, and its silence is significant.

Royal messages
under sign-manual
reported verbatim
informal. The Crown therefore, except on the occasions which I have mentioned, must communicate with the Houses by messages, and these may be either formal, under the sign-manual delivered to the Lord Chancellor in the one House, and to the Speaker in the other, and received by members uncovered: or of a less formal character, but reported verbatim by a minister or officer of the household to the House of which he is a member: or lastly, it is permissible for a minister to communicate to the House in the course of debate a statement from the Crown, but this only ‘if it relates to matters of fact, and is not made to influence the judgment of the House, and then only with the indulgence of the House².’

¹ Gardiner, History of England, x. 139.

² 228 Hansard, 2037.

Apart from these modes of address, the Crown has no means of communicating with Parliament. Nor are these used except upon formal occasions. The Queen can direct the attention of the Houses to certain matters in her opening speech. She can while they are sitting communicate a request for supply, or place at the disposal of the country some matters of royal interest or prerogative ; she can, at the close of the session, if she choose, comment upon the conduct of business and the progress of legislation. All measures introduced or advocated by the Queen's ministers are assumed to have the royal approval, but to introduce into debate in either House any allusion to the personal wishes of the Queen, or to use Her Majesty's name in such a manner as to influence the judgment of members is contrary to the rules of the House.

Use of
Queen's
name in
debate.

Thus during the session of 1876, a member of the House of Commons made at a public meeting a statement to the effect that a measure then before the House had been brought forward in deference to the personal wishes of the Queen. Mr. Disraeli, who was then Prime Minister, desired to contradict this statement on behalf of the Queen and with her authority. He said, 'I can only speak with the indulgence of the House. I have the authority of Her Majesty to make a statement on her part, but at the same time, as I have felt it my duty to place before Her Majesty the fact that it is not in accordance with the rules of the House that the name of the Sovereign can be introduced into debate without the permission of the House—it therefore rests with the House whether I shall go on. If the House desires it I shall do so.'

Mr. Speaker thereupon said, 'As the House is aware, one of the rules of the House is this—that the introduction of the Queen's name into debate, with a view to influence the decision of the House, would certainly be out of order. At the same time, if the statement of the right honourable gentleman relates to matters of fact, and is not made to influence the judgment of the House, I am not prepared to

say that, with the indulgence of the House, he may not introduce Her Majesty's name into the statements¹.²

§ 3. The Crown as a party to legislation.

Legislation without the Crown We have still to consider the action of the Crown as a party to legislation, and looking back at the history of this matter, and noting, as we have had to do, the large share of legislative power which the Crown once possessed, we are apt to forget that laws have been passed to which no royal assent was given; we are apt to forget the episode of the Commonwealth; the restoration of Charles II; the resolution of the Lords and Commons that the crown should be offered, on the abdication of James II, to William and Mary; the strange conclusion at which Lord Chancellor Thurlow arrived during the insanity of George III, in 1788, that he could put the great seal to a Royal Commission empowering him to give the royal assent to Acts of Parliament.

We may leave out of consideration the makeshifts to which constitutional lawyers may be reduced when the throne is vacant or its occupant insane. All that can be done under such circumstances is to supply, as soon as may be, the deficiency in the constitution. Apart from catastrophes which need to be dealt with as may best suit the circumstances of each case, we may safely join with the second Parliament of Charles II in holding that there is no truth in the 'opinion that both Houses of Parliament, or either of them, have a legislative power without the king,' an opinion the expression of which rendered its holder liable, by the same statute, to the penalties of a *præmunire*.

The Royal assent: When a bill has passed through all the necessary stages which I have described above, it is ripe to receive the royal assent; and this assent is given by the Queen in person or by commission.

in person, If the Queen should come to Parliament in person, every

¹ 228 Hansard, 2037.

bill which is ready for the royal assent would necessarily be presented to her for assent or rejection. If the royal assent is given by commission it can only be given to such bills as are included in a schedule annexed to the commission.

It seems to have been regarded as doubtful at one time whether the Crown by assenting to a single bill did not thereby terminate the session of Parliament¹, and as late as 1670 a clause was inserted into an act providing that 'His Majesty's royal assent to this bill shall not determine this session of Parliament.' But the doubt has been cleared up without express enactment or decision upon the point, and the royal assent is now given to bills as soon as they are ready to receive it. The validity of the royal assent by commission is certified by 33 Henry VIII, c. 21, the Act for the formal attainer of Queen Catherine Howard. It is declared in that Act—

That the king's royal assent by his letters patent under his great seal *and signed with his hand*, and declared and notified in his absence to the Lords spiritual and temporal and to the Commons assembled together in this high house is and ever was of as good strength and force as though the king's person had been there personally present and had assented openly and publicly to the same.

And also—

That this royal assent and *all other royal assent hereafter to be so given* by the kings of this realm and notified as aforesaid, shall be taken and reputed good and effectual to all intents and purposes without doubt or ambiguity; any custom or use to the contrary notwithstanding.

The provisions of this Act are followed, and the commission is under the sign manual as well as the great seal. The only departure from the law on this subject was in the case of the Regency Bill of 1811, when George III was incapable of expressing any rational intention, and a commission was nevertheless sealed for the purpose of giving his assent to the bill.

¹ Gardiner, History of England, iv. 127.

Modes of expression: There are three forms of expressing the royal assent to a bill. A public bill is made law by the expression of the royal assent in the same form as that in which the kings of the fourteenth century were wont to reply to petitions for legislation.

The royal veto: A favourable answer was couched in the words 'le roy le veult'; but if the king was unwilling to legislate he was also anxious not to offend by a curt refusal, and he 'smiling put the question by' with the words 'le roy s'avisera.'

These words, which amount to a veto upon legislation, have been seldom used since legislative procedure assumed its modern shape, save in the reign of William III.

It was probably the recent limitations imposed by the Bill of Rights on the suspending and dispensing power which gave rise to the frequent use of the veto by William III, whose position differed in some respects from that of his predecessors and successors.

why not used by Tudors or Stuarts, or at the present time; The Tudor monarchs, with their packed Parliaments, had not the same risk of being asked to assent to legislation of which they disapproved, although Elizabeth exercised the right of rejecting bills on at least one occasion very freely¹. The Stuarts, with their exalted ideas of the prerogative, might readily assent to legislation from which they held themselves entitled to be set free by the use of the dispensing and suspending powers.

If, on the other hand, the Crown in modern times disapproves of proposed legislation, it must begin its opposition earlier. The Queen can inform her ministers that a bill which they intend to propose is distasteful to her, and that she cannot entertain it. If the ministers insist upon their measure she can dismiss them and employ others, in the hope that those others may be supported by Parliament. She can appeal from her ministers to Parliament. If Parliament, in its desire for this particular measure, refuses its confidence to the new ministers, and puts them in a minority on divisions upon important questions, the Queen has one more resource. She can dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country. If the con-

¹ Parl. Hist. i. 905.

stituencies return a new Parliament pledged to the measure of which the Crown disapproves, this last resource has failed. It remains for the Crown, in the words of Lord Macaulay, ‘to yield, to abdicate, or to fight.’

William III had neither a packed and submissive Parliament, a dispensing power, nor a responsible Ministry. He could not through ministers make his wishes felt in the inception of a bill, and being bound to observe the laws to which he assented, he chose to be circumspect in giving his assent. To a nation used to the arbitrary dealings of the Stuarts with law, the use of his veto by William was not regarded as a violation of constitutional usage. This may account for the fact that his refusal to assent to measures so important as the Place Bill and the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, when they first were presented to him, did no more than cause disappointment. But in this respect his reign must be regarded as a transition period. Anne exercised the veto once, when in 1707 she refused her assent to the Scotch Militia Bill. Since then the words ‘le roy s’avisera’ have never been used.

A private bill receives the royal assent in a different form, (b) To a suggesting its character as a private petition, by the words ^{private bill,} ‘soit fait comme il est desire’.

The Petition of Right is the only great public statute to which the royal assent is given in terms applicable to a private bill: and perhaps the Petition of Right may be regarded not so much as a statute making new law as an address of both Houses to the Crown that the ancient laws and statutes of the realm should be observed. It may be that to such an address it was not thought suitable to reply in the words of assent to a request or proposal for new legislation.

A money bill is a grant of supply or an appropriation of (c) To a supply granted by the Commons to the Crown, and it needs ^{money bill.}

for its efficacy the assent of the Lords and the Crown. The form of assent to such a bill is '*La Reyne remercie ses bons sujets, accepte leur benevolence et ainsi le veult.*'

The process of giving the Royal assent by Commission may be illustrated by an extract from the Journal of the House of Lords for the year 1880.

The Lord Chancellor, on the 2nd of September in that year, acquainted the Lords that 'Her Majesty had been pleased to issue a Commission to several Lords therein named for declaring Her Royal assent to several Acts agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament.'

The Lords Commissioners sent to desire the attendance of the Commons, and the Commons attended with the forms described in a preceding chapter, the Speaker bringing with him the Appropriation Bill. Then the Lord Chancellor said :

My Lords and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,
Her Majesty, not thinking fit to be personally present here at this time, has been pleased to order a Commission to be issued under the Great Seal, and thereby given Her Royal assent to divers Acts agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, the titles whereof are particularly mentioned ; and by the said Commission hath commanded us to declare and notify Her Royal assent to the said several Acts in the presence of you the Lords and Commons assembled for that purpose : which Commission you will now hear read.

The Commission was thereupon read, and the schedule containing the titles of the Acts to which assent was to be given, and the Lord Chancellor then spoke again :

In obedience to Her Majesty's commands and by virtue of the Commission which has now been read, we do declare and notify to you the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that Her Majesty hath given Her Royal assent to the several Acts in the schedule to the commission mentioned : and the Clerks are required to pass the same in the usual form of words.

Then the Clerk of the Parliament, having received the Money Bill from the hands of the Speaker, brought it to the table, where the Clerk of the Crown read the titles of that and other Bills to be passed, severally as follows, viz. :

Appropriation Act 1880. (Sess. 2.)

To this Bill the Royal assent was pronounced by the Clerk of the Parliament in these words, viz. :

La Reynne remercie ses bons sujets accepte leur benevolence et ainsi le veult.

Then the Clerk of the Crown at the table read the titles of the Bills to be passed severally, as follows, viz. :

Post Office (Money Orders) Act 1880.

Doctors' (Scotland) Act 1880.

(and a number of others.)

To these Bills the Royal assent was pronounced by the Clerk of the Parliament in these words, viz. :

La Reynne le Veult.

Lord Plunket's Indemnity Act 1880.

To this Bill the Royal assent was pronounced by the Clerk of the Parliament in these words, viz. :

'Soit fait comme il est désiré.'

CHAPTER IX.

THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATURE IN CONFLICT.

I HAVE now described the constitution of Parliament, and its action in Legislation. I wish now to consider the various ways in which one of the three parts of this legislative body has tried to act independently of the other two in respect of legislation, or to control or influence the others so as to get legislation practically into its own hands. I do not reckon among influences of this sort the greater power which the House of Commons of the present day exercises in proportion to the other two branches of the legislature. This power is due to natural causes, to the fact that the House of Commons represents large numbers, and keen political interests or vivid wants. I propose to deal with infringements by one part of the legislature of the rights of another either by direct invasion or assumption of those rights, or by indirect influence obtained over those who ought to have maintained them. The period over which the conflict extends must be taken to commence after the settlement of the respective rights of Crown, Lords, and Commons in Legislation described in Chapter VII of this book. The direct assault by the Crown upon the concurrent law-making and taxing powers of Parliament lasted through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the indirect influences brought to bear by the executive on the legislature, and specially on the House of Commons, are mostly matters of eighteenth-century history.

The Crown, as being at once the executive and a branch of the legislature, is also that branch of the legislature which has most often and in the greatest variety of ways endeavoured to assume to itself legislative power or to subordinate to itself the other branches of the legislature. And it is possible to distinguish and classify the forms which have been assumed by these endeavours of the Crown.

The Crown has tried to legislate independently of Parliament: it has tried to nullify legislation effected in the entire Parliament by dispensing with the operation of statutes in individual cases, or by suspending their operation altogether; it has tried to raise money without parliamentary grant; it has tried, personally or through its ministers, to influence the legislature by the corruption of members or the corruption of constituencies. Or one may summarise the forms assumed by these attempts of the Crown thus:

1. Claim to be independent of Parliament in legislation.
2. Interference with the action of Parliamentary legislation.
3. Claim to be independent of Parliament in taxation.
4. Influence brought to bear on elections or members.

§ 1. *Royal Proclamations.*

The efforts of the Crown to assume to itself independent legislative powers found some colour in the identity in early times of the executive and the legislature, of the King in Council and the King in Parliament. The King in Council had once legislated, and, as we have seen, continued to legislate by way of Ordinance for some time after Parliament had acquired legislative power, and this often took place with the sanction and approval of Parliament. Of the legislative character of the ordinance as distinguished from statute I have already spoken, and also of the jealousy which this practice of independent legislation by the Crown in Council created. This jealousy was awakened as the confusion between the Executive and the Legislature cleared away, and Parlia-

Acts,
p. 211.
Legislation
by ordin-
ance,

ment, and especially the Commons, realised the importance of insisting upon the fulfilment of the terms of the Statute of Edward II, whereby the consent of prelates, earls, barons, and the commonalty of the realm was required to matters which were to be established 'for the estate of the king, the realm, and the people.'

Legislation by ordinance, which had been denounced at the end of the fourteenth century and which had disappeared during the fifteenth, revived in the sixteenth in the form of legislation by Royal Proclamation.

The modern form of Proclamation has already been set forth in an earlier part of this book, but the Proclamations of the Tudor sovereigns were a great deal more than ministerial acts summoning or proroguing Parliaments, or exercising powers conferred upon the Crown by Statute. They made new laws, new offences, new punishments, and the offences were tried and the punishments inflicted by the Court of Star Chamber.

Henry VIII, who showed extraordinary skill in using the machinery of the Constitution for its own destruction, obtained in 1539 the passing of the Statute of Proclamations. The ostensible object of this statute was to enable the executive, when Parliament was not sitting, to act promptly as occasion might require. It professed to guard the laws and customs of the realm and the person and property of the individual.

Nevertheless it enacted that Proclamations made by the king, with the advice of his honourable council, or of a majority of his council, 'should be observed and kept as though they were made by an Act of Parliament,' and permitted the enforcement of such proclamations by such pains and penalties as the King and Council should see requisite. Such an Act was, as Dr. Stubbs describes it, 'a virtual resignation of the essential character of Parliament as a legislative body; the legislative power won for the Parliament from the king was used to authorise the king to legislate without a Parliament'.¹

³¹ Hen.
VIII,
c. 8.

¹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii. 588.

The Statute of Proclamations endured but for a short time ; it was repealed by I Edward VI, c. 12, s. 4, but the practice continued, and though royal proclamations had no longer by statute the force of law, they were used to introduce ecclesiastical changes and social and economic regulations ; they were enforced by penalties of fine, imprisonment, and even slave labour on the galleys¹. In the reign of Mary the validity of such proclamations was called in question, and the judges did not hesitate to assign to them their proper legal character as statements of existing law, and not sources of new law.

'The king, it is said, may make a proclamation *quo ad terrorem populi* to put them in fear of his displeasure, but not to impose any fine, forfeiture or imprisonment ; for no proclamation can make a new law, but only confirm and ratify an ancient one²'.

Nevertheless the Tudor queens continued to legislate by way of proclamation more freely than the kings of the fourteenth century had ever ventured to do by ordinance. Impositions were laid upon imported goods, sumptuary rules were made as to the building of houses, and the quality of apparel ; trade regulations were enforced by punishments in excess of those which the common law would have inflicted.

James I used this method of legislation quite as freely. James I. In the proclamation by which he summoned his first Parliament he tried to limit the choice of the electors by describing the quality of the candidates to be elected, and the discretion and duties of the sheriff by a charge that writs were not to be sent to ancient or depopulated towns. He levied impositions by the same process ; a matter which is better considered when I come to deal with the king's claim to levy money without the consent of Parliament. He interfered in various ways with personal liberty and freedom of trade³, bidding country gentlemen to leave London and go and

¹ Hallam, Hist. of England, i. 38.

² Ibid. i. 337.

³ For specimens of such proclamations see Rymer. Old edition xvii. 417, 607 ; Hague edition, vol. vii. part 4, pp. 16, 143.

Judicial
opinion
on their
validity.

maintain hospitality in their own houses, forbidding the increase of buildings about London, and the making of starch out of wheat. But the proclamations on these last matters elicited a judicial opinion which must be taken as a final and conclusive statement of the law upon the subject. Coke was consulted as to their legality; he asked leave of the Council to confer with some of his brethren on the Bench, and three judges were appointed to assist him. The result of their consideration may be thus set forth :—

‘ 1. The king by his proclamation cannot create any offence which was not one before ; for then he might alter the law of the land in a high point ; for if he may create an offence where none is, upon that ensues fine and imprisonment.

‘ 2. The king hath no prerogative but what the law of the land allows him.

‘ 3. But the king, for the prevention of offences, may by proclamation admonish all his subjects that they keep the laws and do not offend them, upon punishment to be inflicted by law : and the neglect of such proclamation aggravates the offence.

12 Co. Rep. 74, 75. ‘ 4. If an offence be not punishable in the Star Chamber the prohibition of it by proclamation cannot make it so.’

Constitu-
tional
value
of the
opinion.

It would be difficult to find a decision in which the salient points of our Constitution are set forth in so few words : and it is the more interesting as having been delivered at a time when a clear statement of the points at issue between Crown and Parliament was greatly needed, and when the first step to be taken towards a settlement of constitutional difficulties was that the nature of those difficulties should be understood.

The king’s prerogative is ascertainable by rules of law, and is limited by those rules ; he cannot make new nor alter existing laws, nor create new offences, nor constitute new courts for the trial of offences otherwise provided for. He is the executive, his business is the enforcement of existing law. If he thinks he can best enforce it by proclaiming it, he is welcome to do so. The judges in awarding sentence upon

offenders against the law so proclaimed may fairly consider that the warning aggravates the offence.

The administration of the law is with the Crown in Council, the making or altering of the law is with the Crown in Parliament.

If one asks where is the law to be found by which the king's prerogative is determinable, the answer is 'in statutes, in judicial decisions, in the customs of the realm.' If one asks what power in the State can do that which Coke says the king can not do, the answer is that the Crown in Parliament can make, unmake, and alter the law which it is the duty of the Crown in Council to administer.

The indefinite jurisdiction of the Star Chamber was at this moment one of the open questions of the Constitution, and in this matter Coke goes no further than to say that, whatever its existing rights may be, they cannot be increased by the method of proclamation.

Proclamations continued to be made, not only by James I but by Charles¹, and so long as the Star Chamber continued to exist it was difficult to prevent their enforcement by some form of penalty. But when the jurisdiction thus assumed by the Privy Council had been abolished by the Long Parliament ^{16 Car. I.}
^{c. 10.} and there remained only the regular tribunals before which it was possible to try offenders against the proclamations of the Crown, the *dicta* of Coke and his brethren took effect, and we hear little more of this encroachment of the prerogative on the rights of Parliament.

Perhaps we may find in an episode of eighteenth-century history as good an illustration as possible of the difference between legal and illegal proclamations.

When Lord Chatham and his colleagues took office in the summer of 1766 the ministers of the Crown thought themselves bound to take measures in view of the great scarcity occasioned by a bad harvest. By their advice two Royal Proclamations were issued.

¹ Hallam, Hist. of England, ii. 25.

Proclamation by way of admonition.

There were on the statute-book certain laws against fore-stallers and regraters, persons who bought up corn and kept it back to get a high price, or who carried corn from one part of the country to another in order to take advantage of better prices where the corn was scarcer. Whatever may have been the economical merit of these laws, the Crown was within its rights in proclaiming them and the penalties for the breach of them. A proclamation of these statutes was just such an admonition 'for the prevention of offences' as came within Coke's description of a legal exercise of the prerogative.

The Forty Days Tyranny.

But the ministry went further. Without waiting for the summons of Parliament they advised the king by proclamation to lay an embargo upon all ships laden with wheat or wheat-flour. Such a restraint was contrary to the provisions of statutes, which made the export of corn free. When Parliament met, the ministers were severely attacked for having counselled the Crown to break the law, and it is to be noted that they did not for a moment attempt to defend the legality of the proclamation. They claimed to have acted for the best on an emergency, and Lord Camden said that 'it was but a forty days tyranny.' After acrimonious debates an Act of Indemnity was passed in favour of the ministers who had advised and the officials who had carried out the embargo.

Practical difficulty of subject.

The whole proceeding illustrates the difficulty which the Statute of Henry VIII proposed to meet. Ordinarily the law is sufficient for all circumstances that may arise, but there may be occasions when the executive must act in breach of the law. The Act of Henry VIII solved the difficulty by giving to the Crown in Council a discretionary legislative power. It is safer to allow the executive to act at its peril on the chance of an indemnity; and, though timid ministers may shrink from risk and responsibility when action is required, we must choose between such possibly unreasonable inaction and the greater danger of placing the Crown and its ministers above the law of the land.

§ 2 (a). The Dispensing Power.

The power claimed by the Crown to legislate by way of ^{Uses of the} Proclamation differs from the dispensing power in this, that ^{dispensing} power. the former would enable the Crown to make new law, the latter would enable it to remedy inconveniences arising from existing law. But the claim of the Crown to independent legislative power was never admitted, and, when called in question, was uniformly declared illegal, while the power to dispense with the operation of statutes seems, within certain limits, to have been unquestioned. It may have been of practical utility, for, as Mr. Hallam says¹, 'the language of ancient statutes was usually brief and careless, with few of those attempts to regulate prospective contingencies, which, even with our pretended modern caution, are often so imperfect; and as the sessions were never regular, sometimes interrupted for several years, there was a kind of necessity, or great convenience, in deviating occasionally from the rigour of a general prohibition.' But he adds that more often some motive of interest or partiality would induce the Crown to infringe upon the legal rule. And there seems no doubt that in the mediaeval constitution pardons or dispensations from the observance of statutes seem to have developed into something very different from a remedy for individual cases of inconvenience or hardship.

In 1347 the Commons petitioned against the grant of Rot. Par. ii. 172. charters of pardon in great numbers of cases of murder, robbery, rape, and other felonies, and the king promised to use this prerogative henceforth for the honour and profit of the Modes of people, and to consider in Council the cases in which pardons exercise. had already been granted. But again in 1351 a like remonstrance was required, and the nature of the dispensations is shown by the statement that the number of these charters was so great that the County authorities dared not indict malfeasors. The pardon was given not after conviction but before indict-

¹ Hallam, Hist. of England, iii. 60.

ment, and the prayer is that such charters should not henceforth be given to common malefactors and murderers, nor to any one, so far as is consistent with the king's oath and conscience; but that such common malefactors and murderers Rot. Par. ii. 229. should be brought within the law for the quiet of the commonalty and the maintenance of the peace.

In order to prevent such hasty grants of pardon for offences the nature of which was hardly known to the king who par-
13 Ric. II, c. 1. doned them, a statute was passed in the reign of Richard II providing that no such grants should be made unless the name of the offender and the precise character of the offence were specified in the terms of the charter. And while the Commons remonstrated against the exercise of the dispensing power in the form described, the Courts of law endeavoured to frame some rules for its limitation. It was held that the king could not dispense with *mala in se*, which were said to be violations of common law; nor with statutes passed to prohibit *mala in se*, or in other words, to put common law into the form of a statute; nor with the rights of individuals or corporations. But it was very hard to define the power of the king to dispense with penal statutes, and the difficulty may perhaps be best illustrated by two cases both decided near the end of the seventeenth century.

Illustrations. Vaughan, 330. The case of *Thomas v. Sorrell* was an action brought for penalties for selling wines by retail contrary to the Statute 12 Car. II, c. 25.

An Act of the reign of Edward VI had forbidden the sale of wine by retail save with licenses granted in certain forms by certain authorities. James I incorporated the Vintner's Company and gave them the right to sell wine by retail or in gross in and within three miles of the City of London, and in other places *non obstante* the Statute of Edward VI.

The Statute of Charles II, which imposed fresh penalties on the sale of wine by retail, saved the rights of the Vintner's Company, of whom the defendant Sorrell was one.

The questions for the Court were, whether the patent of

James I was void in its creation: if not, whether it expired ^{Thomas v. Sorrell.} when that king died; if not, whether the saving clause of 12 Charles II, c. 25, saved it from the operation of that statute: and the Court had no difficulty in deciding the last two questions in the affirmative.

It remained therefore to decide whether the original dispensation was valid, and to the consideration of this point Vaughan C. J. devoted much learning and ingenuity. He distinguishes a *Dispensation*, or relief from the consequences of an unlawful act done or contemplated, from a *License*, or permission to do an act which may legally be done subject to the grant of such a license, and from a *Pardon* or relief, after conviction, from the penalties of wrongdoing. A dispensation then may be granted either before or after the doing of the illegal act, but in contrast to a pardon it must be given 'so as the offender shall not be impleaded for it.' The distinction between *mala prohibita* and *mala in se* he rejects as confusing, and rightly so, for no act is legally *malum* unless forbidden by law. He denies the power of the Crown to dispense with any general penal law, and he endeavours to define the dispensing power by limiting it to cases of individual breaches of penal statutes where no third party loses a right of action, and where the breach is not continuous. The forfeiture in the case before the court was a part of the king's inheritance. No private right was therefore affected by the dispensation granted, nor was it contrary to the intention of the Act of Edward VI, which was not that no wine should be sold, but 'only that every man should not sell wine that would, as they might when the Act was made.' And so 'the king could not better answer the end of the Act, Vaughan, than to restrain the sellers to freemen of London.'

355.

The judgment of Vaughan C. J. shows the extreme difficulty of limiting the power ascribed to the Crown. His conclusion seems in substance to amount to this, that the king might dispense with an individual breach of a penal statute by which no man was injured, or with the continuous breach

of a penal statute enacted for his exclusive benefit. Although the judgment may be taken to represent all the learning of the time on the subject of the dispensing power, it cannot be said to present a satisfactory view of the law where perhaps it was impossible to state the law in a clear and satisfactory form.

² Shower, ^{275.} In *Godden v. Hales* the matter for which the king granted a dispensation was a continuous breach of a general penal statute passed in the interest of the state religion.

^{Abuse of dispensing power.} The cause of action was debt for £500, and the action arose as follows. The defendant, holding a military office under the king, had neglected to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England as required by 25 Car. II, c. 2. For this he was indicted at the Rochester assizes in March 1686 and convicted, and the plaintiff became entitled to the forfeit of £500 as by the statute was provided. Sir E. Hales set up in defence letters patent under the Great Seal, received from the king before the date of the indictment, and discharging him from taking the oaths, from receiving the sacrament, and in other respects from satisfying the tests prescribed by 25 Car. II, c. 2.

The case was tried in the Court of King's Bench, but the opinions of all the judges were taken, and eleven out of twelve pronounced in favour of the king's right to dispense with the last Act. They did not trouble themselves with the nice distinctions which had perplexed the question as discussed by Vaughan, but said boldly that the laws were the king's laws, that he might dispense with them as he saw fit, and need render no account for so doing.

^{Distinction between Thomas v. Sorrell and Godden v. Hales.} Whatever may be the technical difficulty in distinguishing the constitutional limits, as they existed in 1685, of the king's dispensing power, there is none in distinguishing such cases as *Thomas v. Sorrell* and *Godden v. Hales*. In the one the king in the interest of trade granted a dispensation from penalties provided for his benefit; in the other the king in the

interests of a religion which was not that of the nation, set aside penal laws which had been passed for the security of the national religion.

There was no doubt that the king intended to put himself above the law, and, apart from all legal interpretations of the dispensing power, to set aside statutes as he pleased. For he had announced to Parliament at the beginning of the session of 1685 that he proposed to employ certain persons not qualified by law to hold commissions in the army. The Commons had addressed him in terms of remonstrance, and had offered to introduce Acts of Indemnity in favour of such persons as he might wish to employ, being under the disabilities created by 25 Car. II, c. 2 : and they stated that 'the continuance of them in their employments may be taken to be a dispensing of that law without Act of Parliament, the consequence of which is of the greatest concern to the rights of all your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, and to all the laws made for the security of their religion.'

To this remonstrance the king replied with a rebuke to the Commons for their lack of confidence in him ; and it would seem that if a dispensing power claimed for such purposes and with such an intention could by any possible interpretation come, as Mr. Hallam seems to think it might come¹, within the legal rights of the crown, it were idle to endeavour to draw nice distinctions concerning the limits of a power which was in effect superior to Parliament.

So thought the Parliament which passed the Bill of Rights, for the dispensing power is therein dealt with in such a way as to preclude its further exercise.

It is declared and enacted :

(1) That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by royal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

(2) In s. 12, that from and after this present session of Parliament, no dispensation by *non obstante* of or to any

¹ History of England, iii. 62.

statute, or any part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no effect, except a dispensation be allowed of in such a statute, and except in such cases as shall be specially provided for by one or more bill, or bills to be passed during this present session of Parliament.

*Effect of
the Bill of
Rights.*

From these clauses of the Bill of Rights one may deduce the following propositions :—

That the dispensations granted by James II were illegal.

That there were dispensations of older date which the Bill of Rights was not intended to invalidate.

That from the date of the passing of the Bill of Rights no dispensation of any Statute or part of a Statute was to be valid unless Parliament made provision for the same in the terms of the Statute.

The words *non obstante* were merely the technical terms in which the Crown was in the habit of dispensing with statutes, and are equivalent to the words ‘any article or clause in such or such a statute to the contrary notwithstanding’: and the ‘bill or bills to be passed’ were never brought forward.

We may therefore say that the Bill of Rights put an end to the dispensing power, except in certain cases where it had already been exercised within what were considered legal limits at the time of the exercise¹. Any future exercise of the power must take place by authority of Parliament, not by the prerogative of the Crown.

¹ The *Case of Eton College* (reported by Mr. Williams, 1816) furnishes an instance of such a dispensation. The Statutes of that College forbade the Fellows to hold any spiritual preferment in conjunction with a Fellowship in the College. Queen Elizabeth gave permission to the Fellows to hold benefices of a certain value without thereby forfeiting their Fellowships ‘any article or clause in the Statutes of our said College to the contrary notwithstanding.’ It was argued and with reason that such a dispensation fell under the saving clause ‘as of late exercised,’ and the dispensation in other respects would satisfy the legal requirements set forth by Vaughan C.J. in *Thomas v. Sorrell*.

§ 2 (b). *The Suspending Power.*

In the time of the Stuarts it must be remembered that the dispensing power with which I have just been dealing was made to rest upon something more than precedent or convenience : it was claimed on behalf of the Crown because the king was superior to law and the source from which law emanated. On this ground had been based the decision of the Court in *Godden v. Hales*, and acting on this estimate of his prerogative James II ventured in the year 1687 to free himself from the necessity of granting dispensations in individual cases, and to suspend all the penal laws relating to religion.

'We do declare,' runs the celebrated Declaration of Indulgence, 'that it is our royal will and pleasure, that from henceforth the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to church or for not receiving the sacrament, or for any other nonconformity to the religion established, or for or by the reason of the exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, *be immediately suspended*, and the further execution of the said penal laws, and every of them *is hereby suspended*.' The declaration goes on to say that 'the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and also the several texts and declarations mentioned in the Acts of Parliament made in the twenty-fifth and thirtieth years of the reign of our late royal brother King Charles II shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken declared or subscribed by any person or persons whatsoever who is or shall be employed in any office or place of trust either civil or military under us or in our government.'

The validity of the claim thus asserted came in a somewhat circuitous way before the law courts in the Seven Bishops case. Six Bishops, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, petitioned the king that he would not insist on the reading of this declaration by them and its distribution throughout their

The petition of the Seven Bishops.

dioceses as had been ordered by the King in Council. For this they were tried in the Court of King's Bench as for a seditious libel, and the defence set up came to this—that the declaration of the king's intention to suspend the penal statutes respecting religion, amounted to an expression of intention to break the law, and that loyal subjects might decently, and without seditious purpose, petition against the requirement that they should publish an illegal declaration.

Their petition alleged nothing that was false; it was not proffered with malice: if the king's action was illegal or doubtful in respect of legality the petition was not seditious. The remaining point on which the judges might instruct the jury was whether the legality of the declaration was so sure that to petition against it was seditious. On this the judges were divided; two addressed themselves to the interpretation of the law, two to the furtherance of the king's wishes. Of the former Powell J. puts the matter in the clearest light. 'If there be no such dispensing power in the king,' he says, 'then that can be no libel which they presented to the king, which says that the declaration, being founded upon such a pretended power is illegal. Now this is a dispensation with a witness. It amounts to an abrogation and utter repeal of all the laws; for I can see no difference nor know any, in law, between the king's power to dispense with laws ecclesiastical, and his power to dispense with any other laws whatsoever. If this be once allowed of, there will need no Parliament. All the legislature will be in the king, which is a thing worth considering, and I leave the issue to God and your consciences.'

¹² St. Tr.

^{183.}

Whatever might be said for the possibility that the dispensing power could be exercised with salutary effect, it was clear that the suspending power as claimed and used by James II' was inconsistent with the very existence of a Parliament, as a legislature. The Lords and Commons might meet to vote supplies, to state grievances, to criticise the ministers of the Crown, but it would be idle for them to

make laws which the king could at any moment annul. The Bill of Rights accordingly made short work of the suspending power, enacting :—

‘ That the pretended power of suspending of laws or the execution of laws, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late by royal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.’

§ 3. *Taxation.*

The claim of the Crown to levy taxes without consent of Parliament is very closely associated with the claim to deal with legislation independently of Parliament. For it was only by keeping a firm hold upon the sources of extraordinary revenue that the Commons obtained a hold upon legislation.

It must be borne in mind that I do not propose here to give an account of the sources of royal revenue, but of the respective claims of Crown and Parliament to demand the money of the people for the needs of government. The story of the controversy is so well told in the two great seventeenth century cases that I will not do more than sketch the character of the dispute and then leave Bate’s case and the case of Shipmoney to give the history of the matter as they do nearly to its end.

The king in the fourteenth century had certain sources of income, feudal dues, crown lands, fees, fines and the like ; and the contention of the Parliaments of those days was that the king should ‘live of his own.’ This meant that the king had an income sufficient for the business of government, and should ask for no more. But it was not really desirable that the king should live of his own. If he had done so he would have been too great for the liberties of the country or too small for its security : he would have been rich enough to make him independent of Parliaments or so poor as to become contemptible among his rivals abroad and his vassals

at home. We might never have known parliamentary government because the king would never have had cause to ask his people for money, or we might never have become a united kingdom because the monarchy would have collapsed among the rival magnates or have fallen a prey to a foreign invader.

The difficulty never arose, because, in the words of Dr. Stubbs, 'no king of the race of Plantagenet ever attempted to make his expenditure tally with his ordinary income.' It would have been unfortunate either for our liberties, or for our independence and cohesion as a nation, if the kings of that race had been able or had tried to do so.

Modes of taxation.

Direct aids and prizes.

Indirect Imposition on merchandise.

When the king wanted money in excess of the ordinary revenue he could obtain it either by direct taxation levied on the estimated value of land and chattels, or by indirect taxation in the form of impositions upon exports and imports. Of these the first had been kept within the control of the national assembly or of Parliament by various enactments, from Magna Charta onwards, dealing with the different forms,—scutages, aids, tasks and prizes—which taxation of this kind assumed. It was not so easy to maintain Parliamentary control over impositions on exports and imports. The king claimed a prerogative to regulate trade, to define the privileges of alien merchants, to make agreements, apart from Parliament, with the merchants as a sub-estate or class.

^{14 Ed. III,} After a long struggle the Commons in 1340 obtained the ^{st. 2. c. 4.} passing of a statute, not wholly satisfactory in its terms, limiting the king to a fixed charge on wool, and on other things to the ancient customs, unless Parliament granted ^{45 Ed. III,} more. In 1371 they carried a statute which closed the ^{c. 4.} controversy as to wool, and from 1373¹ they regularly granted customs on wine and merchandise for a term of years or for the life of the king, under the name of tunnage and poundage.

The claim of the Crown to levy impositions in addition to the customs thus granted was not raised for nearly two

¹ Stubbs, Const. Hist. ii. 528.

hundred years. But in 1557 Mary laid a duty on cloths ^{Impositions.} exported and another on French wines imported. Elizabeth laid a duty on sweet wines, and these continued to be raised throughout her reign.

Indirect Taxation. The Case of Impositions.

James determined to derive a substantial revenue from impositions of this nature. He began by the publication of letters patent increasing the duty on tobacco from 2d. to 6s. 10d. a pound, and on currants from 2s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. Bate, a Turkey merchant, refused to pay the additional impost, ^{The case of Bate.} and the Attorney General took proceedings against him in the Court of Exchequer. Bate set up the statute granting 2s. 6d., and averred that he had paid all that the law required him to pay. Judgment was given against him mainly on the ground that trade was matter of general policy falling within ^{2 St. tr.} the discretionary power of the king. That power the Court ^{371.} held to be twofold, distinguishing apparently between the administration of known existing law, and the determination of the policy of government. The right to control trade was put on a level with the right to protect merchants from foreign oppression and to declare war if such oppression should continue.

The decision does not at the time appear to have struck either the bar or the public as erroneous or corrupt. But the effect of it was to cause the king to raise the duties upon all kinds of merchandise. Bate's case was decided in 1606, the great increase on duties was made by a book of rates published in 1608, but it was not until 1610 that the Commons took up ^{The protest of the Commons.} the matter, and we get the learned argument of Mr. Hakewill ^{Hakewill's argument.} in support of a remonstrance against impositions to be presented by the House to the king. The argument falls into three divisions; the first is directed to showing that by the analogies of the Common Law the Crown did not possess the right which it claimed; the second shows that the claim has been resisted whenever made; the third enumerates the

statutes which preclude the Crown from levying impositions. In conclusion he deals with the reasons assigned by the Court of Exchequer *seriatim*.

**Argument
from Com-
mon Law.**

The argument drawn from the Common Law is twofold. It is laid down as a general proposition that the customs, so far as they are not settled by statute, exist by allowance of common law; that for all the expenses of government which the king must needs incur, a source of revenue is provided; 'for the maintenance of the courts of justice, fines and other like profits: for the protection of wards, lunatics and idiots, the profits of their lands': for the security of trade by keeping up harbours, clearing the sea of pirates, and maintaining embassies, the duties on exports and imports recognised by law.

**(a) Com-
mon law
revenues
are certain,**

First then it is argued that these common law revenues of the Crown are either certain or reducible to certainty. It would be wholly contrary to the spirit of the Common Law that the subject should be liable to pay sums the amount of which was arbitrary and uncertain, dependent on the pleasure of the person interested in raising them. This principle is illustrated from fines, reliefs, aids, and other sources of revenue, and the conclusion drawn is that 'custom being, as the above revenues are, due to the king at Common Law, arising out of the property and interest of the subject, is like them *limited to a certainty which the king has not power to increase*.'

**(b) and
sufficient.**

Secondly, it is not merely the certainty in amount, but the sufficiency for all purposes of the common law revenues of the Crown, that goes to show the invalidity of the king's claim. The charges arising from the performance of royal duties are met by appropriate sources of royal revenue, and it is asked 'to what end has the Common Law thus provided for the maintenance of the king's charge but that after these duties are paid the subject may hold and enjoy the rest of his estate to his own use, free and clear from all other burdens whatsoever.' For the extraordinary needs occasioned by war there is a like provision. War must be defensive or offensive. If

defensive, the king can legally call upon every subject at his own charge to serve in person. If offensive, it can hardly be so sudden but what the king can call upon Parliament to grant him aid, or if the war be 'against the Scots, Welch, or other borderers within the land,' the military tenures supply a force bound to serve by the terms of their holding.

The arguments from Common Law come to this, that an arbitrary imposition such as James claimed the right to levy is contrary to the spirit of the law, and that the needs of government were sufficiently provided for: that the king should 'live of his own,' and if he could not do so, should ask aid from Parliament.

The historical argument which forms the second part of Hakewill's speech is not so satisfactory. He states that from the Conquest to the reign of Mary, not six cases could be found of impositions levied as James proposed to levy them. He defines impositions of this sort as 'an increase of custom at the king's pleasure, commanded by him to be taken, the passage being free and open to all men,' and he distinguishes such impositions from 'dispensations, or licences for money, to pass with merchandise prohibited by act of Parliament to be exported'; from the rare cases of subsidies exacted from merchants in time of necessity by ordinance of the king and magnates without assent of the Commons; from forced loans collected from merchants; from agreements made with merchants to grant them trading privileges in consideration of payment of money¹. He is successful in showing that the cases he cites had never passed without remonstrance by the Commons, and that from the death of Edward III to the

¹ Of these modes of raising money the dispensations were an exercise of the dispensing power mentioned above, but they were none the less regarded with jealousy by the Commons, and efforts were made to prevent such dispensations by statute. Of impositions by Ordinance, Hakewill gives but one instance, and then the Ordinance was revoked as soon as made. The forced loans were lawful if '*bona fide* borrowed and truly intended to be repaid.' The negotiations with the merchant class were resisted and finally stopped by the Commons; they would not allow the King 'to purchase a relief from direct imposts by conniving at unfair manipulation of direct taxation.'

accession of Mary no such duties had been imposed. His statements as to the impositions levied by Mary and Elizabeth are not perfectly clear, nor does he tell the whole story. It seems certain that both these queens imposed duties, that throughout their reigns duties were paid on exported cloth and imported wine, and that no question was raised in Parliament concerning them¹.

Argument from Statute. The third chapter of the argument consists in a recital of the statutes which Hakewill held to be conclusive against the claim of the Crown, and here again it is hard to admit that the statutes meet the case. He begins with Magna Charta, § 41, 'All merchants may safely and securely enter England and depart thence and remain and go to and fro therein by land and by water, to buy and to sell, *free of all evil tolls by the old and rightful customs*, save in time of war, and if they be alien enemies.'

Lest this should be taken to apply to foreign merchants, he cites 2 Edward III, c. 9. 'All merchants, strangers, and *privies* may go and come with their merchandise into England after the tenor of the Great Charter.'

He next cites the statute de Tallagio non concedendo, which, whatever its intention may have been, refers to 'tallages or aids' and not to indirect taxation, and 25 Edward I, c. 7, which was closer to the point, for it recites a release by Edward of an imposition complained of by the Commons, and a declaration by him, 'for us and our heirs, *that we shall not take such things without their common assent and good will*', saving certain customs therein granted by the Commons. Lastly he cites 14 Edward III, st. 1, c. 21, which was an answer to a petition of the Commons against the taking of more than the ancient custom on wool, woolfell, leather, tin and lead. The king in turn asks for a subsidy, and the statute, reciting the requests of king and commons and the grant of the subsidy, proceeds to enact that the king will take no more in future than 6*s.* 8*d.* on the sack of wool, and on the other

¹ Hallam, History, i. 317.

things no more than the ancient custom without consent of Parliament.

The whole of Hakewill's argument on the subject of impositions is a good illustration of the form which constitutional difficulties took in the time of the Stuarts. Neither precedent nor statute was conclusive ; each disputant thought he had the law on his side, and each had in fact an arguable case ; for statutes and precedents were applied to circumstances which they were never designed to meet. Difficulties had arisen between the Plantagenet kings and the Commons as to the right of the king to tax and levy impositions ; these had been met from time to time, sometimes by a concession from the king of the point immediately at issue, sometimes by a compromise, sometimes by a statute which provided for the circumstances of the case. When similar difficulties arose two hundred and fifty years later, both parties appealed to the ancient precedents and statutes, and the Courts had to determine the rights in question. On a strict and literal application of the law, as settled in the reign of Edward III, to the circumstances of the reign of James I, having regard to the recent precedents of the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, Bate's case was by no means clear. But we, who look at the question from further off, can see that the statutes and precedents of the fourteenth century, if they meant anything, meant that the king should not raise money without consent of Parliament, and that in the matter of impositions they covered the articles of commerce of the time. The decision in Bate's case violated the spirit of the constitution rather than the letter of the law.

Hakewill's argument led to a remonstrance by the Commons, and this to a reduction of impositions for a while, but the Crown continued to use them as a source of revenue. They were not touched by the Petition of Right, which dealt only with 'gift, loan, benevolence, or other suchlike charge,' and it remained for the Long Parliament to prohibit them. In the Act of 1640, which granted the king tunnage and poundage for that year, punishments were provided for any

Difficulties
in the way
of the argu-
ment.

3 Car. I,
c. I, s. 8.

officer who should levy such customs without Parliamentary grant, and it was further 'declared and enacted that it is and hath been the ancient right of the subjects of this realm that no subsidy, custom, impost, or other charge whatsoever ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandise exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, without common consent in Parliament.'

^{16 Car. I,}
c. 8, s. 1.

Direct Taxation. The Case of Shipmoney.

The case of Hampden. The form which this mode of taxation took was a writ under the Great Seal addressed to the sheriff of each county, demanding for the king's service a ship or ships of a specified tonnage to be sent fitted, manned, and victualled, to Portsmouth on a certain day¹. The cost was to be assessed for the county and some of its boroughs by the sheriff; for other boroughs by the mayor or bailiff. Hampden's share of the contribution demanded from the county of Bucks was £1. He refused to pay it, and was summoned to show cause in the Court of Exchequer in Trinity term of the 13th Charles I.

^{11 St. Tr.}
^{384.}

The counsel for Hampden followed the same line of argument as was adopted in the Parliamentary discussion on the case of Impositions.

Argument from Common law;

The provision made by the law for the defence of the country by sea was the grant to the king of tunnage and poundage, and the service of the Cinque Ports. To this provision the right assumed by the Crown of levying impositions had added considerably. If more was wanted Parliamentary supply was the only legal source.

from history;

^{11 St. Tr.}
^{1013.}

Precedents were producible on both sides; of cases where the king had raised money or troops on an emergency, and of cases where he had borrowed or begged money for a special purpose, or had deferred the raising of money till a Parliament could meet. Statutes were conclusive in this case against the claim of the Crown, from Magna Charta to the Petition of

¹ The first writ of Shipmoney (1634) was addressed to maritime towns, the second (1635) and the third (1637) were sent to the whole kingdom.

Right. In fact it was unnecessary to go beyond the Petition from statute of Right passed nine years before, wherein, reciting Magna Charta and the Statute de Tallagio non Concedendo it was prayed by the Houses and granted by the king that 'no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax or such like charge, without common consent by 3 Car. I, c. 1, s. 10. Act of Parliament.'

St. John, one of Hampden's counsel, made in his argument some bold admissions : he declined to draw any distinction between inland and maritime counties in respect of their liability for coast defence. He further admitted that the king was entrusted with the defence of the country and was judge of the best means for securing that defence. He concedes to the Crown 'that as the care and provision of the law of England extends in the first place to foreign defence ; and secondly, lays the burden upon all ; and for aught I have to say against it, it maketh the quantity of each man's estate the rule whereby this burden is to be equally proportioned upon each person ; so likewise hath it in the third place, made his Majesty sole judge of dangers from foreigners and when and how the same are to be prevented ; and to come nearer, hath given him power by writ under the Great Seal of England, to command the inhabitants of each county to provide shipping for the defence of the kingdom, and may by law compel the doing thereof.'

This was to admit a great deal. But St. John goes on to show that while the king was judge of the policy to be pursued in meeting dangers, Parliament was the proper instrument by which supplies were to be obtained. The only ground for dispensing with a Parliamentary grant and resorting to arbitrary taxation would be the imminence of danger, and Hampden's counsel had no difficulty in showing not only that no danger was imminent, but that no such imminent danger was alleged in the writ.

Holborne carries the matter further, and limits, more closely than St. John had done, the discretionary powers of the

Crown. ‘If there be a storm or leak in the ship, that the danger be actual, it is justifiable for the master to throw out the goods; but if he sees a cloud arise and out of fear of a storm he threw out the goods, I doubt on a jury which way this will go.’

Decision
that *Rex*
is *Lex*.

The judges, by a majority of seven to five, decided in favour of the Crown, some, as Finch and Weston, on the ground that the king was constrained or might be constrained by the necessities of the defence of the kingdom to raise money without waiting for a Parliament; others, alleging the superiority of the king to the law. The opinion of these last may be taken in the words of Berkeley, ‘the law is of itself an old and trusty servant of the king’s: it is his instrument and means which he useth to govern his people by. I never heard nor read that *Lex* was *Rex*, but it is common and most true that *Rex* is *Lex*, for he is *Lex loquens*, a living, a speaking, an acting law.’

In this matter of taxation, as fifty years afterwards in the case of the dispensing power, judges were found to maintain that for taking the subject’s money Acts of Parliament were unnecessary, as later that for imposing general rules of conduct, Acts of Parliament were precarious; for the king, the source of all law, might if he chose, do without them or set them aside.

The Long Parliament, by Statute 16 Car. I, c. 14, declared the judgment in the case of shipmoney to be contrary to law, and enacted the observance of the provisions of the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights enacts—

<sup>1 Will. &
Mary, st. 2.
c. 2.</sup> ‘That the levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.’

<sup>Practical
difficulties
of the ques-
tion.</sup> It is noticeable that throughout the controversies between Crown and Parliament in the seventeenth century the same difficulty presents itself to such of the parties as were not wholly engrossed in the technicalities of the discussion. There must be some person or body in the State capable of acting

promptly in cases of emergency. A Parliament if not sitting has to be called, and is at best an unwieldy body for the purpose of dealing with present and pressing difficulties.

In the seventeenth century the choice lay between the submission of such difficulties, as they arose, to Parliament, and the assignment of great and dangerous power to the Crown. And apart from the danger to liberty of entrusting the Crown with the powers claimed for it by its advocates there was a practical inconvenience. If a king, animated with the best intentions, persistently blundered in his exercise of power, there was no remedy short of a revolution.

Our cabinet system is the solution of the puzzle of the seventeenth century : we fix responsibility upon a group of ministers who can be removed if they fail ; we are therefore in less danger of a rash exercise of power, while at the same time the Crown and the nation possess a body of servants who are bound not to shrink from responsibility if occasion should arise when responsibility must needs be incurred.

§ 4. Influences of the Executive on the Legislature.

In the previous sections of this chapter I have described attempts made by the Crown to resume those functions in the State which had once belonged to the Crown in Council before Parliament grew up alongside the older institution, *Influence before the executive and legislature had become distinct of executive on legislature.* bodies with appropriate duties. But I must not leave this part of my subject without noting other modes by which the executive has endeavoured to control the legislature, not by interfering with its duties but by influencing its action.

Influence of the Crown upon the Commons.

For when the position of Parliament in the constitution had become defined ; when the participation of the Commons in the imposing of taxes and the making of laws had become recognised as necessary, if taxes were to be paid and laws

obeyed ; when the king's part in legislation had been reduced to an expression of assent or dissent ; it became worth the while of the king and his ministers to consider how far their wishes could be effected by the instrumentality of Parliament, and in particular of the Commons.

Dealings
with the
constitu-
tion of the
House ;

with free-
dom of
speech,

with in-
tegrity of
members.

The modes adopted in view of this end may be said to have passed through three stages. First we have the attempts of the Tudors to obtain a subservient House of Commons by the creation of constituencies and the management of elections. The first Stuarts, with the exception of the attempt of James to form a Court party in Parliament, tried methods more in accord with their high notions of prerogative and their contempt for constitutional forms. They influenced debate, so far as they tried to influence it, by interference with freedom of speech ; but they preferred to dispense with Parliamentary forms and to fall back on the independent action of the Crown described in the earlier sections of this chapter. The third stage commences with the Restoration : the king could no longer venture to create new constituencies nor to interfere directly with freedom of speech in Parliament ; he addressed himself to the corruption of individual members, by places, by pensions, and by bribery. After the Revolution this method became more frequent and systematic as the House of Commons increased in power with no corresponding increase in responsibility. The art of Parliamentary management, as we shall have to note shortly, attained its perfection in the fifty years preceding the concession of independence to the American Colonies.

*Creation of
boroughs.* The additions made by Henry VIII to the representation of the country are free from the suspicion of any sinister

motive. One cannot say the same of the twenty-two new members added in the reign of Edward VI. Fourteen of these were returned by seven Cornish boroughs, and from the number of persons represented, and the qualifications of the electors in the year 1816 it may be concluded that with all due allowance for changes in the fortunes of these boroughs they never were expected to be anything but corrupt. The constituencies were as follows:—

Bossiney, mayor and freemen chosen by the mayor	9
Newport, burgage tenants paying scot and lot	62
Westlooe, corporation, consisting of twelve persons who need not reside	12
Grampound, mayor, recorder, aldermen and freemen	42
Saltash, mayor and free burgesses	38
St. Michael's, portreeve, lord of the manor and in- habitants paying scot and lot	18
Camelford, corporation being inhabitant householders paying scot and lot	9

Mary added or revived fourteen boroughs, Elizabeth sixty-two. The clear intention of these additions was to form a court party in the House of Commons, and to obtain seats for friends of the Crown or its ministers, placemen who would vote as they were told but who had no local interest, such as would ensure their return, unless constituencies were made or found for them.

The creation of new boroughs, or the revival of old ones, would not, however, have been of much use if the Court had not taken active steps to fill them with suitable representatives. This was done either by general directions to the returning officers for the election of members of a certain character, or by express recommendations of individuals.

A circular addressed to the sheriffs in 1553 is an illustration of both forms of interference. It bids the sheriffs give notice to the electors that they should, in the first instance, choose residents of knowledge and experience, but that, if the

Interfer-
ence with
elections.

Privy Council should make special recommendation of men of learning and wisdom, such direction should be regarded.

Such interference with elections by the Privy Council or by individual ministers of the Crown or noblemen did not take place without exciting some resentment in the Commons. The practice of nominating courtiers or placemen could not well be carried out consistently with the statute of Henry V, which required residence as a qualification for election. Accordingly in 1571 a bill was brought in to make valid the election of non-residents. The bill was supported on the ground that it would give to every constituency the choice of the best available candidates, and thus was raised the question whether a member represented the general interests of the whole kingdom or the local interests of those who returned him. The opponents of the bill did not merely maintain that if the requirement of residence was abolished local interests might suffer; they alleged the risk of such interference with the representation as we have been discussing, the probability that candidates would be nominated by noblemen and courtiers and that 'lords' letters would bear sway¹. The bill progressed so far as to be committed, but was then dropped.

Cessation
of their
modes of
influence,
&c.

It would not be difficult to collect other instances and illustrations of interference by the Crown or its ministers with freedom of election: but the wholesale creation of constituencies ceased with the accession of James I. The additions made in his reign to the representation were mostly by way of revival of constituencies which had ceased to return members, and were the result of the action of the House of Commons ordering a warrant for the issue of a writ. An illustration is afforded by the cases of Pontefract and Ilchester in the year 1620, as to which the following entry appears in the Commons' Journals of the report of the Committee of Privileges²:

For Pomfrett that 26 Ed. it sent burgesses which continued a good while after. That by reason of the barons war it grew poor.

¹ D'Ewes, Journal, 168.

² Com. Jour. ii. 576.

That 10 Hen. VI, a return was made they could not send burgesses by reason of poverty.

4th Jac. the king granted all their former liberties and customs.

That the Committee thinketh it to stand both with law and justice that a writ should go for choice of burgesses.

For Ilchester:—till Hen. V time sent burgesses. Upon question, Pomfrett to send burgesses. Upon like question, Ilchester to send burgesses, and writs for both.

This shows that the right of sending members to Parliament began to be prized as the Commons grew more independent and the general interest in politics more keen, and serves to explain how it was that the Stuart kings first had recourse to other measures for influencing Parliament. By ^{The Under-takers.} the advice of Bacon, James I endeavoured to form a Court party in the House, not merely of placemen or nominated members, but of aspirants for Court favour, answering to the 'king's friends' of George III. These persons were called Undertakers, and were the forerunners of a kind of royal influence in Parliament which during the latter part of the eighteenth century was used with deeply injurious effect upon the fortunes of the country.

But attempts to influence the House of Commons were not very congenial to kings who maintained, as James maintained, that the privileges of the House were 'derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself' and might be 'retrenched' at his pleasure: or who, like Charles I, could, through the mouth of his ministers, threaten the House that if they trenched on his prerogatives they might 'bring him out of love with Parliaments¹'.

Interference with freedom of debate, such as has been Parliamentary spoken of under the head of Parliamentary privilege, and management after invasion of the province of Parliament by independent legislation, were the rough methods employed by Restoration. Charles, and it is not until after the Restoration that we find a revival of attempts to influence members.

¹ Gardiner, Hist. of England, vi. 110.

Charles II ventured only upon one addition to the constituencies, that of Newark, by royal charter, an exercise of the prerogative which did not pass unquestioned by the Commons¹, during his reign, and the ill success of the attempts of James II to dispense with the forms of the constitution made it clear that the House of Commons, if it was to be made an instrument for carrying out the policy of the Crown and its ministers, must be dealt with otherwise than by tampering with the representation of the country in Parliament, or by interference with freedom of debate.

Increased difficulties of executive.

The House of Commons, having obtained complete control over supplies, and over the existence of the standing army, had become the chief power in the State. In order to carry on the business of government it was necessary that the ministers of the Crown should have the continuous support of a majority of that House. But such continuous support was not easy to secure. Throughout the reigns of William and of Anne party spirit was, on the whole, sufficiently vehement to supply to some extent the want of party discipline. Yet the corruption of members by places and bribes was common, and the management of elections through the returning officers was an important object of ministerial care².

Systematic corruption of Parliament in 18th century.

But it was not till after the accession of the Hanoverian kings that Parliamentary management became a system under the hands of Walpole. He realised to the full the importance of a working majority in the Commons, and the difficulties in keeping it together. The difficulties were serious. The engrossing political issues of the seventeenth century were in a great measure laid to rest, and there was not ex-

¹ Com. Journals, ix. 403. The city and county of Durham were enfranchised by 25 Car. II, c. 9.

² In the Wentworth Correspondence, p. 135, the defeat of the Whigs in 1710 is attributed to an electioneering blunder. They had thought there would be no election till the next year, 'so had directed her Majesty's choices of sheriffs, almost throughout England, of Tories; their friends they kept off till next year, when they thought they should have use of them in the elections of Parliament men.'

eitement enough in politics to create genuine party divisions. The House debated with closed doors, and its members were free from external criticism. The constituencies in many cases were so small or so corrupt as to care little what their members said or did. In the absence of any external control over the conduct of members, and of any real political interests or issues to keep parties together; in the demoralisation of politics, which was partly due to the moral collapse of the Restoration, partly to the risks and uncertainties of political life during the past forty years, it was not easy for Walpole to get a majority to support his ministry out of mere public spirit. Nor did he try to do so. He accepted the condition of public morality. He kept his majority together by the simple process of bargain and sale. But that which had been done intermittently during previous reigns, he did in a businesslike and systematic way. Bribery is not easily proved where it is to the interest of all parties concerned to keep the secret; but Walpole's hints to his successor, Henry Pelham, as to the best mode of keeping together the rank and file of the party, are quite sufficient to indicate the mode in which the House of Commons was 'managed' between the years 1721 and 1742. The process of management continued under Henry Pelham and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, until George III took into his own hands the business of corruption. To trace the gradual emancipation of the House of Commons from such influences would be to write the political history of England from the death of Henry Pelham to the Reform Bill of 1832.

The elder William Pitt was the first to prove to the political managers of the eighteenth century that there was a public outside the constituencies capable of taking a generous interest in political matters. The Rockingham Whigs were the first to show that common opinions on the conduct of affairs of state may bind a party as well as ties of relationship or the prospect of mutual gain. One antidote for the political corruption of the last century was to be found in the growth of

genuine political interests throughout the country. Such interests would diminish the necessity for giving bribes and the inclination to receive them: but the publicity of debate and the reform of the representative system could alone furnish a real security that members of the House of Commons would attend to the interests of their country rather than to their own. When members become responsible to popular constituencies, and when the constituencies have the means of knowing what their members say, and how they vote, a minister cannot hope to secure support by offering personal advantages to individuals. But I need not carry this matter further. Nevertheless it is necessary to speak shortly of the various inducements offered to members, and the process by which Parliamentary management was effected.

Modes of influencing members.

Offices and pensions. With official disqualifications I have already dealt in describing the persons who may be elected to serve in the House of Commons; but historically such disqualifications fall into two groups. Those created during the greater part of the last century were designed to secure the independence of Parliament: the more modern disqualifications are for the most part imposed to secure the undivided attention of officials to the business of their departments, and the advantage of a permanent civil service unaffected by changes of ministry or by considerations of party politics.

The Acts 5 Will. & Mary, c. 7, and 12 & 13 Will. III, c. 10, excluded Collectors of Excise duties and of Customs. 6 Anne c. 7 (41 in revised statutes) imposes the disqualifications described in an earlier chapter; and 1 Geo. I, c. 56, disqualified pensioners for terms of years.

15 Geo. II, c. 22, the place bill of 1742, the one reform effected by those who ejected Walpole from office, excluded the holders of some two hundred offices from the House of Commons.

22 Geo. III, c. 82, abolished a number of places about court,

which had previously been tenable with seats in the House of Commons, and provided that if revived they should be *new* offices within the meaning of the Act of Anne.

This may be regarded as the last of the statutes which, in creating official disqualifications, had in view the independence of the House of Commons. The amount of influence accruing to the Crown from the places which were thus abolished, or made to disqualify, may be collected from Burke's speech on Economical Reform, made with a view to the passing of the last of the Acts I have mentioned. It is not difficult to see the use to which such places were put when the reform of the king's household was thwarted because 'the turnspit in the king's kitchen was a member of Parliament'; when the Board of Trade could be described as 'a sort of temperate bed of influence: a sort of gently ripening hot-house where eight members of Parliament receive salaries of a thousand a year, for a certain given time, in order to mature, at a proper season, a claim to two thousand granted for doing less, and on the credit of having toiled so long in that inferior laborious department.'

Another form of corruption, applied chiefly to commercial members, was the grant of a government contract, such as to supply the navy with beef or the army with cloth.

Such a contract was given, not for the advantage of the branch of the service to be supplied, but with a view to the parliamentary support of the contractor. The service was ill supplied. The constituents did not obtain the unbiased attention of their member to local or national interests, and everybody was injured by the transaction, except the member who made money out of the contract, and the minister who secured the member's vote¹.

This practice was brought to an end by the disqualification of holders of government contracts by 22 Geo. III, c. 45.

A more expensive form of corruption was practised in the latter part of the eighteenth century, during the ministries of Bute, Grafton and North. It consisted in assigning to friends

¹ Parl. Hist. xx. 123-129.

and supporters of the minister shares in government loans and lotteries. By this means the country was made to borrow money on terms considerably above the market price, and, in the case of a loan brought out by Lord North, sustained a loss of nearly a million upon the transaction. The practice was abandoned by Pitt, who, from the time that he became minister in 1784, when he wanted to raise money by loan, invited offers which were sent by him sealed by the persons anxious to take up the loan. These tenders were opened in the presence of those who had made them, and the best offer was taken¹.

Payment
for votes.

But all these advantages which might accrue to the supporters of a ministry were occasional and unsystematic as compared with the direct method of bribery which prevailed from the reign of Charles II to the end of the ministry of Lord North in 1782.

The system
of Walpole.

Much has been said and many authorities cited as to the corruption of Parliaments between these periods. Its prevalence during the reigns of Charles II and William III is attested by Burnet² and Macaulay³. Individual cases of the receipt of money by members of either House in consideration of support given to ministers are instanced by Sir E. May⁴. But the systematic maintenance of a ministerial majority by the regular payment of bribes seems to have been the invention of Walpole. The evidence is scanty, but there is significance in Walpole's advice to Henry Pelham, advice given by a man who had retired from office to the man whom he desired to succeed him in power. 'I think it needless to suggest to you the necessity of forming within yourselves your own scheme. *You must be understood by those you are to depend upon, and if it is possible they must be induced to keep their own secret*'⁵. Such advice explains the requirement of leaders of the House of Commons, when the Prime

¹ See May, Constitutional History, 325, and the authorities there cited.

² Hist. of his Own Time, ii. 144.

³ Hist. of England, iii. 541.

⁴ Constitutional Hist. of England, i. 312.

⁵ Coxe's Pelham, 193.

Minister was a member of the House of Lords, that they should be 'authorised to talk to members of the House of Commons on their several claims and pretensions.' It explains also the fluctuations in the expenditure of the secret service money in correspondence with the Parliamentary needs of government.

George III, who liked to be his own minister, paid great attention to this department of ministerial duty. His correspondence with Lord North affords more than one illustration of the use made of the secret service money and of the King's savings out of the civil list, to corrupt members and constituencies.

In particular, when North retired in 1782 the King writes¹:

'I must express my astonishment at the quarterly accounts of the secret service being only made up to the 5th of April, 1780. No business ought ever to be the excuse for not doing that.'

'I shall make out the list paid by Mr. Robinson to Peers, Payments to members and shall give it to the First Lord of the Treasury; but I of Lords cannot answer whether under the idea of influence there will and Commons. not be a refusal to continue them. Those to members of the House of Commons cannot be given; they may apply if they please to Lord Rockingham, but by what he has said I have not the smallest doubt he will refuse to bring their applications as well as those of any new solicitors in that House.'

It would seem from this that such members of either House as desired to be retained in the service of the ministry made application to the minister, that he communicated their wishes to the King, received authority to expend the necessary sums of money, made the payments, and accounted for them in a book which should have been sent quarterly to the King. Lord North apologises for the delay 'with a heart full of the deepest affliction.'

'The secret service list was always ready after every quarter, so that no delay is imputable to him. Mr. Robinson,

¹ Correspondence of George III with Lord North, vol. ii. 421-425.

whose list is of a nicer nature, never omitted entering every sum he paid the moment he paid it, so that every article of his account is kept in perfect order.'

But other forms of corruption appear in this winding up of business between the King and a minister, who perhaps was more nearly after his own heart than any others who served him.

Pensions. Secret pensions were paid to members in breach of the law; and in prospect of the advent to office of a minister who would not connive at such proceedings, these pensions were set down in the names of the wives of such as were married. Poor George Selwyn, who was a bachelor, had to forego his pension altogether. 'He must look to better days,' said the King.

Bribery at elections. But the most serious item of expenditure revealed in this part of the correspondence was the outlay in bribery at elections. 'If Lord North remembers correctly, the last general election cost near £50,000 to the Crown, beyond which expense there was a pension of £1000 a year to Lord Montacute and £500 a year to Mr. Selwyn for their interest at Midhurst and Ludgershall.' On bye-elections alone the King had spent £13,000 in three years. But Lord North says of the members who were assisted to come into Parliament that 'they all behaved with very steady attachment to the end.'

Removal of opponents from Commissions. A cheaper mode of securing the support of members who held commissions in the army and navy was to deprive them of their commissions if they voted against the government.

Ante,
p. 142. I have already alluded to this infringement of the privilege of freedom of debate, which was, as Burke says, discredited and altogether abolished in Lord Rockingham's short administration in 1765.

Honours and dignities. Besides these grosser forms of corruption, and in substitution for them, as direct bribery and intimidation of members ceased, honours and dignities were held out as inducements to rich men or large landowners to support the government. At a time

when many boroughs were, so far as representation went, articles of property, the votes which an owner of boroughs could command might be placed at the disposal of a minister in consideration of a peerage, or an advancement of rank in the peerage. By this means Pitt, between the years 1784 and 1801, was able not merely to strengthen his position in the House of Commons, but to change in great measure the political colour of the House of Lords, by the creation or promotion of 140 peers.

Purchase or corruption of constituencies.

All these modes of influencing members of the House of Commons were rendered possible only by the condition of the representation. The counties were independent, but were ^{Purchase of} _{boroughts.} not likely to look beyond the county families, and the cost of a contest was enormous. In many boroughs there were no electors capable of expressing an opinion ; where there was such an electorate its opinion was often determinable at a known price. Thus a seat in Parliament for a borough was in most cases a matter of bargain and sale ; only in some cases the ^{Bribery of} _{constitu- ents.} seat was purchaseable without any reference to electors, in other cases the electors made their own terms. The two parties in the state competed with one another for the possession of such seats as were to be bought out and out, and a man who wished to get into the House of Commons, and who had no such local interest as would procure him a seat for a county, could not easily obtain a seat except as nominee of the government or of the opposition, or by the favour of an owner of boroughs, or by purchasing a seat for himself.

The ministers had resources which enabled them to compete successfully with other purchasers of seats, and the domestic economy of George III was, as appears above, not without reference to electioneering interests. We are not here concerned with the defects of the representative system before 1832, except in so far as it rendered the House of Commons more susceptible to the influence of the Crown and its ministers.

The possibility of such influence may be said to have ceased with the Reform Bill of 1832. The modern constituency exercises a far more potent control over the actions of its member than any ministerial influence. The independence of members is no longer threatened by the Crown; and if we have any reason to fear lest votes should not be given strictly on the merits of a question before the House, the fear is rather lest the vote should be determined by the influence of a group of local busybodies, than by any anticipation of emolument or favour to be bestowed by the Crown.

Influence of the Crown upon the Lords.

So far we have spoken of the influence of the Crown on the House of Commons. Its influence on the House of Lords has

(1) Expression of royal wishes. been of two kinds. Firstly, the Lords are from their position and mode of life more easily affected by any expression of the personal wishes of the Crown. On two notable occasions such an expression of the royal wishes has determined the action of the House of Lords on an important question.

In case of Fox's India Bill; When, in December 1783, Fox's India Bill had passed the Commons, and was under discussion in the House of Lords, George III had an interview with Lord Temple, afterwards Marquis of Buckingham, and empowered Temple to say that, 'whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy; and if these words were not strong enough, Earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger and more to the purpose.'

This statement was written out in the king's own hand. It was shown by Temple to peers who were wavering in their opinion of the merits of the bill, and to peers who were apt to be guided in their political conduct by an intimation of the king's wishes. The result was that the bill was thrown out on a motion that it should be committed.

of Reform Bill. A like influence was brought to bear upon the House of Lords in order to bring about the passing of the Reform Bill

of 1832. The first Reform Bill had failed on an adverse resolution, carried as a preliminary to its being committed in the House of Commons. The second Reform Bill had been thrown out on the second reading in the House of Lords. The third Reform Bill, after passing the House of Commons and the second reading in the House of Lords, was in course of being so handled in committee as to defeat the objects of the ministry who had introduced it. Lord Grey and his colleagues resigned. A Tory ministry which Lord Lyndhurst and the Duke of Wellington endeavoured to form was made impossible by the refusal of Peel to be a party to any measure of Reform however moderate. Lord Grey was recalled, but the attitude of the Peers remained hostile. It seemed that the course which Harley and Bolingbroke had adopted would need repetition, and that a creation of peers, on a greater scale than was required in 1712, would become necessary. The King reluctantly assented to such a creation, but, at the same time, he had recourse to the policy of George III. His secretary was instructed to inform the Duke of Wellington that the matter might be settled by 'a declaration in the House of Lords, from a sufficient number of peers, that they have come to the resolution of dropping their further opposition to the Reform Bill.' This communication caused Wellington, and with him the leaders of the Tory opposition in the House of Lords, to abstain from any further attack upon the bill, and it speedily became law.

The creation of peers by the Crown in order to bring about the passing of a measure is a power which has only once been exercised.

In 1712 it was necessary, in order to avert opposition to the Peace of Utrecht, that the Whigs should cease to be in a majority in the House of Lords. The matter was promptly dealt with by the Queen and her advisers; twelve new peers were created, and a Tory majority secured. The excitement caused by this exercise of the prerogative seems not to have extended much beyond the limits of society, nor to have met

with much severer comment than the jest of Wharton, who asked the twelve new peers, as they were about to take part in a division immediately after taking their seats, 'whether they intended to vote singly or by their foreman.'

Possible effects of the use of this power.

Yet the existence of this prerogative is a curious feature in our constitution, an instance of a dormant power, which, if exercised, might produce strange results. The Queen might, without exceeding her legal rights, double or treble the number of the House of Lords. She might do this, and might do so by the introduction of persons whom she selected for no other reason than personal liking or caprice. This prerogative is one which we are in the habit of regarding as a more practical safeguard of the constitution than the royal veto on legislation, because from time to time the House of Lords delays measures which a considerable number of persons desire to be passed, and the ultimate resort to a creation of peers is then regarded with satisfaction by those who favour the measure delayed. But the power of packing one of the Houses of Parliament is in reality far more formidable, because more lasting in its operation if exercised, than the power of using the veto. The will of an individual cannot long hold out against the expressed intentions of a nation, but the course of legislation and policy might insensibly be altered in many ways by the alteration in character of one of the two legislative chambers.

CHAPTER X.

THE HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT.

THE legislative power of Parliament is perhaps the most conspicuous feature of our constitution to any one who seeks to compare the disposition of forces in different political societies. What is understood, elsewhere than in England, by a constitutional government, is a government the ordinary working of which is regulated by a written constitution, a constitution which cannot be altered by ordinary legislative procedure, which needs for its alteration some abnormal process for obtaining the expression of national consent.

But our Parliament can make laws protecting wild birds or shell-fish, and with the same procedure give political power to two millions of citizens, and redistribute it among new constituencies : by the same procedure, with the preliminary of a resolution in committee, it could disestablish the State Church. It is little wonder then that with this constant process and possibility of change before our eyes, we lose sight of the other functions of Parliament in the contemplation of its legislative power.

But, as I had occasion to note in speaking of the Royal Proclamation for the summons of Parliament, the Queen calls a Parliament with no ostensible purpose of legislation but that she may 'have the advice of her people.' And Parliament discharges various and important functions answering to the

work of the ancient Council of the Crown. In dealing with the duties which the Houses discharge as constituting the High Court of Parliament, we must be careful to distinguish the direct from the indirect, those which are based on rules of law, and those which rest on use or convention.

§ 1. The direct and indirect judicial power of the Houses.

iv. Inst.
c. i. p. 23.

Lord Coke says boldly that, 'the Lords in their House have power of judicature, and the Commons in their House have power of judicature, and both Houses together have power of judicature.' But we must strictly limit the sense in which judicial attributes are thus assigned to the two Houses severally and jointly.

Each has, as we have seen, a jurisdiction over its own members and over the general public in respect of contempt against itself. Each has certain powers of a judicial character in dealing with the constitution of its own body and the right of persons who claim to be members of that body. The Lords can try their own members if charged with treason or felony. They also constitute a final court of appeal for the United Kingdom. Acting jointly, the Lords can try and sentence a criminal impeached by the Commons, or a Bill of Attainder can be passed by both Houses and presented to the Crown.

Besides these existing and undoubted powers, it must not be forgotten that each House has in past times claimed a further jurisdiction as a court of first instance.

Original jurisdiction claimed by the Lords; by the Common Law Courts might be inadequate or difficult to procure. It was in virtue of this claim that upon reference from the Crown they undertook to try the dispute between Skinner and the East India Company in the year 1667. The details of the quarrel between the two Houses, which was occasioned by this pretension of the Lords, are unnecessary for my present purpose. It is enough to say that the Lords gave

judgment against the Company and in favour of Skinner for £5000, and sentenced the deputy governor of the Company, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, to pay a fine of £300, and to remain in custody till it was paid, for a breach of privilege in petitioning the Commons against their action in the matter; that they ultimately consented to erase both judgments from their journals, and thereby admitted that they had no such jurisdiction as a court of first instance, and that to petition the Commons against such an exercise of jurisdiction was a fair exercise of the general right of the subject to petition.

The House of Commons too has set up a jurisdiction as a ^{and by the} court of first instance to try political offences. Numerous cases are to be found in the Journals of the House during the seventeenth century of the exercise of such a supposed jurisdiction, but perhaps the most conspicuous is also happily the last. It occurred in 1721, when the House by resolution committed to Newgate a prisoner named Mist for the publication of a journal which contained expressions of a hope for the restoration of the Stuarts. There was no suggestion of a breach of privilege by Mist, and the House dealt with his conduct as constituting a purely political offence. Although the House never repeated such an assumption of judicial power, yet in the eighteenth century, when privilege was in other respects extended to the detriment of free discussion, both Houses did take upon themselves to determine questions of private right arising between their members' servants and the outside public¹.

The attempted assumption by the Lords of a jurisdiction in ^{The ground} cases of great importance in 1667 was probably a result of ^{of these} claims. the disappearance of the Privy Council jurisdiction, which, in the court of Star Chamber, had from time to time been exercised in a salutary manner for the bringing to justice of great offenders. The extensions of privilege to matters outside its proper limits were the acts of two irresponsible and not very public-spirited bodies at a time in our history when the

¹ See instances cited in Pemberton on Privilege, p. 87.

privileges and emoluments of power were more regarded than its duties. I do not propose to deal with these disputed or excessive exercises of jurisdiction, nor is it necessary to touch again upon the undoubted rights of the Houses to maintain their dignity by committal for contempt, and to see that unqualified persons do not take part in their business or deliberations. Nor again will I here anticipate what I shall have to say hereafter in dealing with Courts of Criminal jurisdiction concerning the right of a peer to be tried by his peers.

Forms of jurisdiction.

But the criminal jurisdiction exercised by Parliament through the process of impeachment is a distinct feature of its attributes as a court. The appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords is doubtless a survival of a portion of the jurisdiction of the Curia Regis, and of the time when a session of Parliament was not easily distinguished from a session of the Magnum Concilium. The practice of petitioning Parliament dates from a time when Parliament might be expected to attend to and remedy individual cases of hardship. And another judicial duty is thrown upon Parliament by the removability of certain officers of the executive upon address from both Houses to the Crown. These are the legal duties of Parliament as a high court. Then we come to those which rest on use and convention, the practice of inquiring into the conduct of individuals or of departments by committee of either House ; of determining, by votes of censure or adverse decisions, on important subjects, that the executive has no longer the confidence of the country.

§ 2. *Impeachment.*

Origin of the practice.

The practice of impeachment by the Commons at the bar of the Lords dates from the reign of Edward III. There seems no ground for regarding it as a development of the system of Appeals in Parliament by which private accusers endeavoured to get a trial before Parliament of the person whom they

charged with an offence¹. Such a court, if it were prepared to act at all, might create the offence, and the penalty in the course of its judicial proceeding, and such appeals were forbidden by 1 Hen. IV, c. 14. They revive in an altered form in the Acts of Attainder, by which in the latter part of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century persons who had played for a high stake in politics and lost it, or who, by no fault of their own, chanced to be on the unpopular side were hurried to death with no form of trial.

Impeachment was one of the various forms in which the Commons tried to obtain control over the conduct of the ministers of the Crown, and perhaps the practical object at which they aimed, and which they, to a certain extent, attained, is well illustrated by the fact that out of fifty-four impeachments which have taken place since the year 1621, nineteen took place in the first three years of the Long Parliament. As soon as the House of Commons became able so to control and review the conduct of ministers as to make it impossible for them to conduct business without a Parliamentary majority, impeachment lost its value and fell into disuse.

As only two cases, those of Warren Hastings and Lord Melville, have occurred in the last hundred years, and none for the last eighty, the law upon this subject can hardly be said to have a practical interest. It may be well, however, to summarise the procedure of an impeachment, and to note the constitutional questions that have from time to time arisen in respect of it.

The first stage in the proceedings is to induce the House of Commons to take action, and this is done by a member ^{impeach-} _{ment.} charging the accused person with high crimes and misdemeanours and moving that he be impeached.

If this motion is carried, the member at whose instance it was carried goes to the bar of the House of Lords and impeaches the accused 'in the name of the Commons of the

¹ Mr. Justice Stephen, Hist. of Criminal Law, vol. i. p. 154, appears to hold this view. But the two modes of procedure are in fact distinct.

^{Articles of impeachment:} United Kingdom.' A Committee of the House of Commons is then appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and these, when drawn, are delivered to the House of Lords. They are also delivered to the person accused, who may, if he pleases, answer them.

^{trial:} If the accused is a peer he is taken into custody, for the purposes of the trial, by order of the House of Lords; if a commoner, by the serjeant-at-arms, who delivers him into the charge of the usher of the Black Rod. The Commons appoint managers to conduct their case, and the trial proceeds in Westminster Hall. The forms of a criminal trial are followed, the Lords sitting as judges, the Lord High Steward presiding if a peer is on his trial, the Lord Chancellor or Speaker of the House of Lords in the case of a commoner.

^{verdict:} At the conclusion of the case the question of 'guilty' or 'not guilty' is put to each peer, beginning with the junior baron, on each of the articles of impeachment. Each answers in turn, standing, uncovered, with his right hand on his breast, 'guilty,' or 'not guilty,' 'upon my honour.' The numbers are ascertained, and the decision of the House announced by the Lord High Steward to the House and to the accused.

If a verdict of guilty is found by a majority of the Lords, it still rests with the Commons to determine whether this verdict shall be proceeded upon. The Lords are not entitled to pronounce sentence until the Commons demand it.

^{sentence.} When the Lords have determined upon the sentence to be given, they send a message to the Commons that they are ready to proceed upon the impeachment. It is still open to the accused person to offer matters in arrest of judgment, and for this purpose the managers attend the House of Lords, and the accused is brought to the bar. Then the Speaker of the House of Commons demands judgment, and it is pronounced by the Lord who presided at the trial.

^{Execution of sentence.} The execution of the sentence pronounced by the Lords is like the sentence of any other criminal court, dependent upon the pleasure of the Crown. Although an ordinary prosecution

is at the suit of the Crown, whereas an impeachment is at the suit of the Commons, the Crown is not thereby ousted of its prerogative of pardon. It can pardon a person condemned upon an impeachment, or remit a part of the sentence, and has exercised this prerogative in various cases.

There are some points which have arisen in cases of impeachment and which, after some controversy, appear to be settled by custom or statute :—

1. It was at one time questioned whether a commoner could be impeached for anything but a misdemeanour ; and it was maintained that he cannot be impeached for a capital offence. This view prevailed in 1681 in the case of Fitzharris, whom the Commons impeached for high treason, at a time when he was being proceeded against for the same act at common law. The Lords refused to proceed with the impeachment, and Fitzharris was tried on indictment at common law, but the Commons protested against this action of the Lords, and in subsequent cases the objection was not raised, and the Lords resolved that the impeachment of a commoner for a capital offence should be proceeded with.

2. Another question has arisen as to the right of the person impeached to plead a pardon under the Great Seal in bar of the impeachment. This was done in the case of Lord Danby in the year 1679, under protest from the Commons. It was indeed open to grave objection on constitutional grounds, inasmuch as it made the Crown directly and personally responsible for the very same act which the Commons had made matter of impeachment.

The question was set at rest by a clause in the Act of Settlement to the effect that 'no pardon under the Great Seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.'

3. The effect of a prorogation and of a dissolution of Parliament upon proceedings in an impeachment has been differently regarded at different times. Contrary resolutions have been passed by the House of Lords on these points, but the

Case of
Fitzharris.

Case of
Lord
Danby.

12 & 13
Will. III,
c. 2, s. 3.

Effect of
proroga-
tion and
dissolution.

law may be stated as follows:—Proceedings in the House of Lords on an impeachment are unaffected by a prorogation or a dissolution, and this has been held without question since Warren Hastings' case in 1786. But to avoid all difficulty ^{26Geo.III, c. 90;} ^{45Geo.III, c. 125.} with regard to the proceedings of the House of Commons, an act has been passed in each of the last two cases of impeachment providing that they shall not be discontinued by prorogation or dissolution of Parliament.

The rights
of the
bishops.

Acta,
p. 199.

4. As regards the position of the bishops during the course of an impeachment, the same difficulty has arisen as in the case of the trial of a peer. The difficulty turns on the title of the bishop to his seat in the House of Lords, and on the question of 'ennobled blood.'

13 Lords J. 571. The practice is however settled by custom and resolution of the House. The Lords have resolved 'that the Lords spiritual have a right to stay and sit in Court in capital cases, till the Court proceed to the vote of guilty or not guilty.' And by custom the bishops sit in the House during the trial and vote on any incidental questions that may arise, but withdraw before judgment is given, entering a protest 'saving to themselves and their successors all such rights in judicature as they have by law, and by right ought to have.'

*Acts of
attainder.*

I pass over those acts, in form legislative, in substance judicial, which we know as acts of attainder or of pains and penalties. An Act of Parliament can, as we know, do anything. It can make that an offence which was not when done an offence against any existing law; it can assign to the offender, so created, a punishment which no court could inflict. The procedure is legislative and, as such, differs in no respect from legislation on any other matter of public importance.

§ 3. *Appellate Jurisdiction of the House of Lords.*

To discuss the history of the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords would lead us far into legal and parliamentary antiquities. If one may venture upon a general statement

the process of its attainment may be described as follows.

After the three Common Law Courts had been parted from the *Curia Regis* and had acquired distinct jurisdiction in cases concerning the king's interest, or the interest of revenue, or in suits between subject and subject, there yet remained in the king a residuary judicial power. This power was called into play where the Courts were not strong enough to do justice, or were deficient in rules applicable to the case at issue, or were alleged to have decided wrongly. The exercise of jurisdiction in cases where, from the greatness of the offender or the importance of the issue, it was thought that the Courts could not do adequate justice, seems to have assumed various forms. Such cases were dealt with by the Crown in Parliament, the Crown in Chancery, and the Crown in Council. As Parliament became more distinctly a law-making and tax-granting body, cases of this nature, when brought before it, assumed a political aspect. Appeals in Parliament were forbidden in 1 Hen. IV, and so far as this jurisdiction survived in Parliament at all it survived in the form of acts of attainder and private or personal acts. The Chancellor too, as his jurisdiction took shape, eliminated cases of this character, and it fell wholly into the hands of the Council. And the Council or the Star Chamber, as employed by Henry VII, 'brought down punishments on the heads of the great, when it was difficult to find a jury which would not be hindered by fear or affection from bringing in a verdict against them even if it could be supported by the strongest evidence¹'.

The exercise of jurisdiction in cases where the Courts were unable to provide rules suitable to the matter in hand passed into the Chancery, which developed a supplementary body of law to meet the deficiencies occasioned by the rigidity of the Common law.

The Appellate jurisdiction in cases of error passed into the House of Lords and is all that Parliament retained of the

¹ Gardiner, Hist. of England, i. 6.

Error from
Common
law Courts
went to the
Lords.

residuary judicial power vested in the Crown. Records were, as Lord Hale tells us¹, brought from other courts, sometimes to be examined *in pleno parlamento*, sometimes *coram praelatis, proceribus et magnatibus in parlamento*.

In the reign of Henry IV the Commons requested to be relieved of the judicial business of Parliament, and the Lords alone have exercised this jurisdiction. Appeal lay to the House of Lords by writ of error from the Common Law Courts, alleging error of law appearing upon the face of the record. Early in the seventeenth century the House assumed, And appeal and (after some conflict with the House of Commons in the from equity reign of Charles II) continued to exercise jurisdiction in cases Courts. of appeals from decrees in equity. Such an appeal was made by way of petition and not by writ of error, and was of the nature of a rehearing, though no new evidence was admitted.

Proceedings in Error have been abolished by the rules of Court made in pursuance of the Judicature Act of 1875, and Order, 57. all Appeals take place by way of a rehearing; the procedure s. i. in respect of them is not matter to be dealt with here. But the jurisdiction of the House of Lords has undergone a striking change in the course of the legislation consequent upon the Judicature Act.

^{39 & 40}
^{Vict. c. 59.}
^{Its effect.} The Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876, places the jurisdiction of the House of Lords upon a statutory basis, and determines the constitution of the Court in so far as it provides that no appeal shall be heard unless there are at least three members present who have judicial experience of the kind described in the Act. A sitting of this Court is however a sitting of the House of Lords; the forms of giving judgment follow the forms of carrying a motion on any other subject; and the Appellate Jurisdiction Act may be said to have been directed not so much to changing the character, as to securing the efficiency of that branch of the High Court of Parliament which acts as a final Court of Appeal. Of its functions in that capacity it will be proper to speak in dealing with the Courts.

¹ Hale, *Jurisdiction of the House of Lords*, c. xxii. (p. 127, ed. Hargrave).

§ 4. The Right of Petitioning.

The right to petition was said by one of the Judges in the Seven Bishops' case to be 'the birthright of the subject,' and it would seem that, in accordance with the King's promise in the Great Charter that he would not deny or postpone justice to any one, whosoever in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries wanted by peaceable means to get anything which was not recoverable in the courts of law, addressed a petition to the King in that great council of which Parliament was at first a session. Legislation itself was, as we have seen, for a long time initiated by petition of the Commons or Clergy to the King in Council; and individuals addressed the King in his great Council and Parliament, and it was held that wherever 'from the poverty of the petitioner, the power of his adversary, the insufficiency of the law, or any other similar cause, he could not obtain redress, then the Supreme Court of Parliament was to give him a speedy and effectual remedy¹.' For the assortment of these petitions different arrangements were made from time to time. Edward I appointed receivers and triers, and as the procedure of Parliament became organised, its first business upon opening was to hear the names of the receivers and triers of petitions appointed by the King from among the Lords of Parliament.

The receiver's duty was to be accessible to all persons who had complaints to make, such persons being invited by public proclamation; and to transmit their petitions, when received, to the triers. The triers assorted the petitions, handing over each to its appropriate tribunal, the Judges, the Chancery, the Council, or Parliament.

A survival of this practice exists in the procedure of the House of Lords, where, at the commencement of every Parliament, receivers and triers of petitions are appointed. The receivers are judges or masters in the Courts; the triers are

¹ Select Committee on Public Petitions, 1833.

Receivers
and triers
appointed
at present
time.

chosen from among the temporal peers. The entry appears upon the Journals in Norman French as follows:—

‘Les Recevours des Petitions de la Grande Bretagne et d’Ireland :

‘Messire Alexander Edmund Cockburn, Chevalier et Chief Justicer de Banc Commune.

‘Messire Robert Lush, Chevalier et Justicer.

‘Messire Henry William Frayling, Ecuyer.

‘Et ceux qui veulent delivre leurs Petitions les baillent dedans six jours procheinment ensuivant.

‘Les Recevours des Petitions de Gascoigne et des autres terres et pays de par la mer et des Isles.

‘Messire Fitzroy Kelly, Chevalier et Chief Baron de l’Exchequer de la Reyne.

‘Messire Charles Edward Pollock, Chevalier et Justicer.

‘Messire John Walter Huddleston, Chevalier.

‘Et ceux qui veulent delivre leurs Petitions les baillent dedans six jours procheinment ensuivant.

‘Les Triours des Petitions de la Grande Bretagne et d’Ireland :

‘Le Duc de Bedford.

‘Le Duc de Devonshire.

‘Le Marquis de Lansdowne.’

[And twenty-one other peers.]

‘Touts eux ensemble, ou quatre des Seigneurs avantditz, appellant aux eux les serjeants de la Reyne, quant sera besoigne, tiendront leur place en la Chambre du Tresorier.

‘Les Triours des Petitions de Gascoigne et des autres terres et pays de par la mer et des isles :’

[Then follows a list of twenty-one peers.]

‘Touts eux ensemble, ou quatre des Seigneurs avantditz appellant aux eux les serjeants de la Reyne, quant sera besoigne, tiendront leur place en la Chambre du Chambellan¹.’

But by the end of the reign of Richard II the Chancery had built up an equitable jurisdiction appropriate to such cases as the Common Law courts failed to remedy for want of elasticity in their rules; and the Privy Council, too, had become a body distinct from Parliament; it was (with the Crown) the executive, and it was the resort of suitors who were oppressed by persons too powerful to be dealt with by

¹ Lords Journals, 1880.

the ordinary process of law. Suitors who desired a remedy for individual grievances ceased to apply to the High Court of Parliament, whose legislative, as contrasted with its judicial functions, were now acquiring prominence. Their Petitions place was taken by suitors of another sort, who desired a *privilegium* or change of the law for their benefit, or an exemption from its provisions. From the time of Henry IV such suitors become frequent, addressing themselves chiefly to the Commons, sometimes to both Houses of Parliament, sometimes to the King in Council. But such petitions, to whomsoever they were addressed, appear to have gone through the form of legislation, and to have received the assent of Crown and Parliament.

Private bill legislation was simpler in its objects than it is now, though similar in its character. An estate act, a divorce act, a naturalisation act, are modern instances of the limited kind of *privilegia* which petitioners sought when they first asked Parliament to alter the law on their behalf. A railway or canal bill, though conferring exceptional rights on a corporation, may affect in its operation the proprietary rights of very many and the comfort or prosperity of a large portion of the community. The line between public and private legislation is less easily drawn than it was in the early days of private petitions.

But I have so far spoken only of petitions of two kinds—petitions which asked Parliament for a remedy afterwards given direct by the Courts, and petitions which asked for changes or exemptions from the law on behalf of individuals.

What are called public petitions, that is, petitions complaining of public grievances, and asking for some change in the general law, or some legislation to meet new circumstances, are not common before the seventeenth century.

A Committee of Grievances, to which petitions were referred, was appointed by the House of Commons in 1571, and throughout the reigns of James I and Charles I entries

appear in the Journals of the House regulating or referring to the proceedings of this Committee. In January 1640 we find this entry :

' Members added to the Committee for sorting petitions, and are specially to consider of and to sort such petitions as concern the public.'

Such petitions multiplied during the first years of the Long Parliament, and after the Restoration it was thought well to restrict tumultuous petitioning on matters of public policy.

13 Car. II, st. 1, c. 5, prohibits under penalty of £100—

<sup>legal
restrictions
on pre-
sentation,</sup> (1) The signing of petitions to the King or either House of Parliament for any change in Church or State by more than twenty persons, unless approved, in the country, by three justices of the peace or a majority of the grand jury sitting at assize or quarter sessions, in London by the Mayor, aldermen, and Common council :

(2) The presentation of a petition by a company of more than ten persons.

The Bill of Right contains a clause which does not seem wholly consistent with the Act of Charles II. It declares that :—

' It is the right of all subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.'

The statute law relating to petitions is thus brief, and may almost be said to be immaterial. For the Act of Charles II seems to be construed as directed not against petitioning, but against the presentation of petitions in a certain manner. It is more important to follow the dealings of the Lords and the Commons with regard to petitions submitted to them.

<sup>right of
commoner
to present
them,</sup> As to the respective rights of petitioners to petition, and the Commons to deal with such petitions, the House declared the principles on which it would act in two resolutions passed in 1669, which run thus :—

'That it is an inherent right of every commoner in England to prepare and present Petitions to the House of Commons in case of grievance, and the House of Commons to receive the same.'

'That it is an undoubted right and privilege of the Commons ^{right of Commons} to judge and determine concerning the nature and matter of ^{to reject them,} such petitions, how far they are fit or unfit to be received.'

The right to make petition, and the right to receive and consider such petition was so far clearly set forth, but it has been a matter of increasing difficulty to deal with petitions as they became more frequent.

Every petition must be presented to the House by a member, and the presentation, the reading and often the discussion of petitions made inroads upon the time of the House, which eventually it became necessary to limit. Petitions had to be presented before 10 in the morning: at that hour, fifty years ago, members who had petitions to present came down and balloted for places; if a member came out high on the list he might get his petition presented and read, and if need be discussed that evening. If he got a low place on the ballot, the time allowed for the reception of public petitions might, owing to pressure of the public business of the House, be too short to enable him to present his petition, and he would have to reappear at 10 a.m. the next day to take his chance of another ballot.

The numbers of petitions steadily increased. In the five years ending 1789 it was 880. In the five years ending 1831 it was 24,492. In the five years ending 1877 it was 91,846. The cost of printing petitions amounted between 1826-1831 to £12,000.

To remedy these troubles the House has framed various rules. A select Committee is now appointed, in pursuance of the ^{of the} House, a resolution of February 20th, 1833, to which are referred all petitions except such as relate to private bills. The duty of this Committee is to classify, to abstract, and to report. Its reports are issued twice every week during session, and the

Committee has power to direct the printing of a petition *in extenso*, and to limit its circulation to members of the House.

As a consequence of this process of classifying and abstracting of petitions by the Committee, the House has been able to economise its time in the presentation of petitions, and by standing orders of 1842 and 1853 to limit the dealings with a petition on its presentation by a member to a statement of the parties from which it comes, the number of signatures, the material allegations and the prayer with which it concludes. No debate is allowed, but the petition if required to be read may be read by the clerk of the House. The rule as to debate may be set aside, and the petition discussed if it should disclose a case of urgency for which an immediate remedy is required.

rejection of petitions. It remains to consider how the House will deal with Petitions which are in form insufficient, or in matter such as the House considers 'unfit to be received.'

In form a petition must satisfy certain requirements. It must be written, it must be free from erasures or interlineations, it must not be a simple memorial or remonstrance, but must conclude with a prayer.

In matter it must be respectful of the privileges of the House, and free from disloyalty or expression of intention to resist the law. Beyond this the inclination of modern times is to allow the widest latitude to petitions.

One may profitably compare the Kentish Petition with a somewhat less celebrated, though at the time notorious petition of the year 1875.

The
Kentish
petition.

The Kentish Petition¹, drawn up on the 29th of April, 1701, and signed by all the Deputy Lieutenants of the county present, more than twenty Justices of the Peace, and a large number of freeholders, was intended to urge the Commons to greater dispatch of business, and to enable the king to fulfil his treaty obligations with the States General. It concluded with a prayer 'That this House will have regard to the voice of the

¹ *xiii Commons Journals, 518.*

people: that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for; that the loyal addresses of this House may be turned into bills of supply; and that His Majesty may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late.'

On this petition the following resolution was passed—'That the Petition is scandalous, insolent and seditious, tending to destroy the Constitution of Parliament and to subvert the Constitution of this realm.'

The gentlemen who presented the petition were voted guilty of a breach of Privilege, and were imprisoned by order of the House.

The Prittlewell petition¹ was presented in the year 1875, and related to the conduct of the three judges who presided at the trial at bar of Orton, the claimant of the Tichborne estates. But the petition did not merely impugn the good faith of the judges, it made suggestions adverse to the impartiality of the Speaker in dealing with complaints of the conduct of this trial.

The select Committee on public petitions drew the attention of the House to this document, and after an interesting debate the order that the petition should lie upon the table was read and discharged.

It would seem from the tenor of the debate that the ground of objection to the petition was the reflection on the Speaker's impartiality. It would not have been a ground for rejection that the conduct of the judges was commented upon with freedom, for the precedents of the last thirty years go to show that the House wisely allows petitioners to express anything short of an intention to break the law, or a contempt for the body to which they appeal for redress.

A petition may be rejected at once, upon its presentation by the member in charge of it; or, as in the case of the Prittlewell petition, it may be ordered to lie on the table, and when attention is drawn to it by the Select Committee, the order may be discharged and the petition thereupon rejected.

¹ Hansard, vol. 223, p. 976.

§ 5. Committees of Inquiry.

Origin of
the prac-
tice.

The practice of inquiring into the conduct of individuals or of departments of government by means of special or select committees of the House is said by Mr. Hallam¹ to have begun in the year 1689. The mismanagement of the war then being carried on in Ireland was the cause of this inquiry being instituted, and upon its report, which reflected severely upon the conduct of Colonel Lundy, the governor of Londonderry, the House addressed the Crown with a request that he might be sent to England for trial on the charge of treason.

Need of
power to
administer
oaths.

This right of inquiry, since frequently exercised, depended for its efficacy on the exercise of parliamentary privilege to enforce attendance of witnesses and production of documents; but it was for a very long time hampered by the want of power in the House or in any committee of the House to administer an oath. Gradually, and for certain occasions, the power was given to committees to examine witnesses upon oath. The first concession of this right was made by the Grenville Act, 1770, in the case of committees for trying disputed returns; the power was subsequently given to committees upon private bills; and finally, by 34 & 35 Vict. c. 83, the House of Commons may administer an oath to a witness at the Bar of the House, or any committee of the House may administer an oath to the witnesses examined before it.

§ 6. Address for removal of servants of the Crown.

The report of such a committee may form the foundation, though it need not be the only foundation, for an exercise of the judicial functions of Parliament.

Mode of
procedure
for removal
of an officer
of state.

Certain permanent officers of state, the most important and conspicuous of whom are the judges, are removable upon an address to the Crown made by both Houses of Parliament.

¹ History of England, iii. 143.

The ground of proceedings by address may be the petition of an individual, the motion of a member, or the report of a select committee appointed in consequence of such petition or motion.

These proceedings assume a judicial character, and it would appear proper that they should begin in the Commons. For the Commons are especially 'the grand inquest of the High Court of Parliament'; and there is this further reason against such proceedings being commenced in the Lords, that if when the matter came before the Commons they thought it a case for an impeachment, the Lords would be in the unsatisfactory position of judges who had pre-judged the case on which they were called to decide.

The House of Commons, having appointed a committee to inquire into the truth of charges made, whether by petition or on motion, and having received the report of the committee, hears the official complained of in his defence. It may accept without further inquiry the report of the committee¹, but the better opinion seems to be that the evidence against the person charged, although it has already been taken by the committee, should be heard at the bar of the House.

If the House of Commons is satisfied of the truth of the charges made, an address to the Crown is drafted praying the removal of the officer charged, and the address, when agreed to, is communicated to the Lords. They, if they please, inquire again into the evidence, and, if satisfied, agree to the Address and send a message to the Commons to that effect. Thereupon members of the two Houses are deputed to present the Address to the Crown.

In cases of the sort described, Statute has provided for the exercise by the Houses of this judicial power. In the particular instance of the judges the Act of Settlement substituted this Parliamentary control for the arbitrary power of removal previously exercised by the Crown. But an address

¹ See the case of Sir Jonah Barrington, set forth at length in Todd's Parliamentary Government in England, ii. 736.

for the removal of an officer of State, proffered to the Crown by either House, may be no more than an expression of disapproval of the conduct of the executive generally, or of an individual member of it in particular.

§ 7. Indirect judicial functions.

Address for removal of minister, We come here to the relation of the Ministers of the Crown to Parliament, and to the mode in which Parliament can affect the composition of the executive by expressions of want of confidence or of disapproval. An address proposed for the removal of an individual minister might, or might not, be regarded as condemnatory of the general policy of the collective Ministry, according as the matter complained of was, or was not, a part of that general policy. Usually the Ministry will assume collective responsibility where censure is levied at the conduct of a particular department of government.

or of want of confidence in ministry. But the most conspicuous cases of such an exercise of quasi-judicial power by the House of Commons in recent times have been cases of amendments introduced into the Address presented by the House in answer to the Speech from the throne; such amendments being to the effect that it is expedient that her Majesty's Ministers should possess the confidence of the House and of the country, and that such confidence is not reposed in the present Ministers of the Crown. Amendments of this nature having been carried in 1841 and in 1859 have in each case led to the resignation of the Ministry¹.

Differs from an address for removal of a judge. But the effect and legal character of an address of this nature must be carefully distinguished from an address such as that for the removal of a judge. The latter is a statutory remedy given to the estates of the realm for the security of

¹ An adverse majority on any matter which ministers have declared to be vital is regarded as equivalent to a vote of censure or an address for their removal. But the forms of address which I have cited furnish a more definite contrast to the address for the removal of a judge.

the due administration of justice; the former is a mode of expressing disapproval of the individuals whom the Crown employs for the time being in the transaction of the business of government.

And thus we pass by graduated stages from the direct and legal exercise by Parliament of judicial power, in cases of supreme importance, to the exercise of that constant criticism and control of the executive which our system of Cabinet government puts into the hands of the legislature. By questions addressed to Ministers of the Crown, by motions for papers on matters of present interest, the members of either House can keep a check on current business and obtain explanation of its conduct, so far as is not inconsistent with the public advantage. By votes of censure, by addresses to the Crown declaratory of want of confidence, by adverse majorities on important matters, Parliament can pronounce judgment on those officers of state to whom the Queen has entrusted the conduct of affairs.

But here we pass outside the region of law and come to a matter those conventions or constitutional understandings which, as Professor Dicey has said, 'may be expressed with ease and technical correctness in the form of regulations in reference to the exercise of the prerogative'.¹ As such they should be more properly deferred for treatment when I come to deal with the Crown and its Ministers. But here it may be well to say this much.

The control that the House of Commons can exercise over the choice of Ministers by the Crown rests, so far as it has any legal basis, on precisely the same footing as the necessity for annual Sessions of Parliament. If Parliament does not meet, the army cannot be maintained, and much of the revenue of the year cannot legally be paid away. If Parliament does meet, the House of Commons has power, if so minded, to refuse to pass the Army Bill and the Appropriation Bill. The necessity for summoning a Parliament and the

¹ Dicey, Law of the Constitution, 351.

necessity for keeping on good terms with that Parliament are therefore the same ; and I have spoken of the House of Commons as wielding power in these matters, because, though the refusal of *either* House to pass these necessary measures would be fatal to them, the Crown can, as we have seen, alter the composition of the House of Lords by a creation of Peers, it can only alter the composition of the House of Commons by an appeal to the electorate.

If therefore the majority of the House of Commons and the Ministry are hopelessly at variance, and the House of Commons expresses its opinion by votes of censure, the Crown must do one of three things ; it must either keep its Ministers and its Parliament, with the intention, should the necessary statutes not be passed, of maintaining an army, and spending the public money in defiance of law ; or it must keep its Ministers and dissolve its Parliament ; or it must keep its Parliament and change its Ministers.

The legal
sanction
not re-
sorted to ;

But practically these sanctions are not contemplated when a Ministry is changed. A Ministry may last for years which is in a permanent minority in the House of Lords, yet the House of Lords does not attempt, and nobody ever contemplates its attempting, to throw out the Army Bill. When a Ministry is censured by the House of Commons, or is beaten on a division in a matter which it has declared to be vital to its existence, nobody ever contemplates its remaining in office and violating the law. It is expected that the Queen will change her Ministers unless she has reason to believe that the House of Commons does not represent the feeling of the country, and in that case she will change her House of Commons by a dissolution of Parliament.

but ne-
cessitates
harmony of
Ministers
and Com-
mons,

We arrive then at this point, that the Crown, as represented by its Ministers, must, by the conventions of the constitution, be in harmony with public opinion as represented by the members of the House of Commons. The legal necessity lies in the background ; it forms an ultimate sanction which is not often present to the minds of those who act upon it.

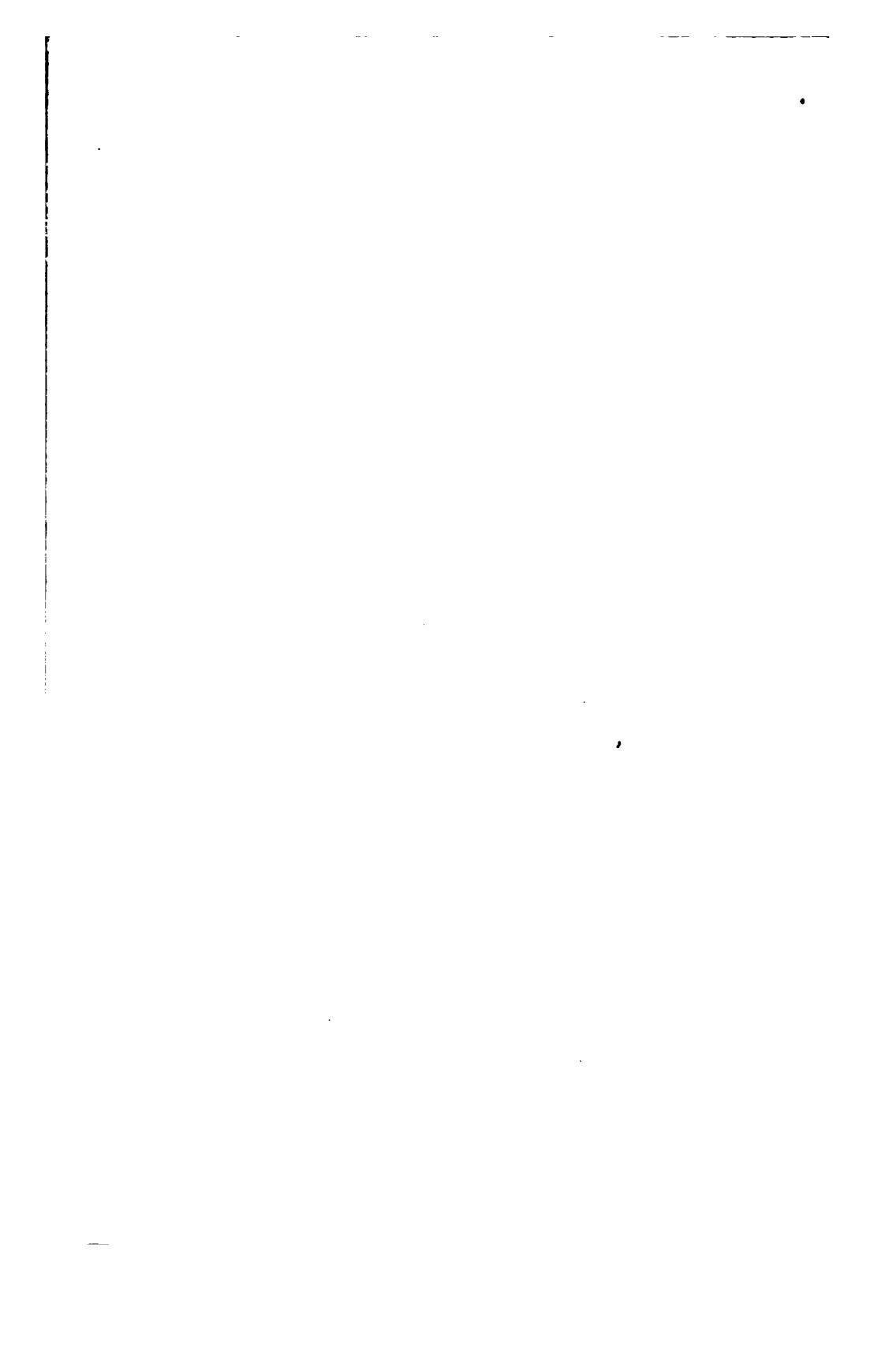
The conventional necessity is wholly outside the contemplation of law. The will of the electorate can only be expressed through its representatives, just as the will of the Crown can only be expressed through its Ministers, and what is sometimes talked of as 'the mandate of the constituencies' has no more legal value than the private opinion of the Queen on a question of national policy.

A member of the House of Commons represents not merely the constituency which has returned him to Parliament but the entire kingdom¹. He is bound to respect the wishes of his constituents, partly because he may have engaged himself at the time of his election to try and promote them, partly because he may fear rejection at the next occasion of his being a candidate if he does not act up to his professions.

In this manner a vote of the majority of the House of Commons against a Ministry in the nature of a vote of censure is an indication, probable, though not certain, that the majority of the electorate desire to see the policy of the country directed by other hands: it foreshadows remotely certain legal difficulties which have never as yet been allowed to arise.

It may seem fanciful to attribute to an expression of opinion, which, however important in its results, has no immediate legal operation, the character of a judicial proceeding. This mode of passing judgment upon the executive was certainly not present to those who first wrote and spoke of the High Court of Parliament. Yet it appeared to me to be an attribute of Parliament which could not be passed by, and which if was to be dealt with at all had better be dealt with here.

¹ Coke, 4. Inst. 14.



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THE END.

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 8, *dele* full stops after second and third marginal references.
,, 45, marginal reference, *for* 16 Car. II *read* 16 & 17 Car. II.
,, 54, " " *for* 7 Hen. IV, c. 5, *read* 7 Hen. IV, c. 15.
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,, " " " *for* c. 33 *read* 53.
,, 161, last line, *for* Patterson *read* Patteson.
,, 219, line 8, *for* close *read* closer.
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ADDENDA.

Page 71. A bill is now before Parliament providing for the vacating of a seat held by a person of unsound mind. It is proposed that in the case of any member being received into an asylum or other place as a lunatic, information should be given, from various persons responsible for his detention, to the Speaker. The Speaker should thereupon obtain a report from the Commissioners in Lunacy; at the end of six months from the first report the Speaker should obtain a second report, and if this be to the effect that the member is still of unsound mind his seat is to be vacated and a new writ to issue.

Page 72. The judgment recently delivered in the Stepney Election Petition does not affect the incapacity of an alien; it merely decides that certain persons claiming to be British subjects are aliens. A subject of the King of Hanover, who was also a British subject when the king of this country was also king of Hanover, ceases to be a British subject and incurs the disabilities of an alien when the Crowns are severed. The matter would properly fall under the head of Allegiance, and will be dealt with hereafter.

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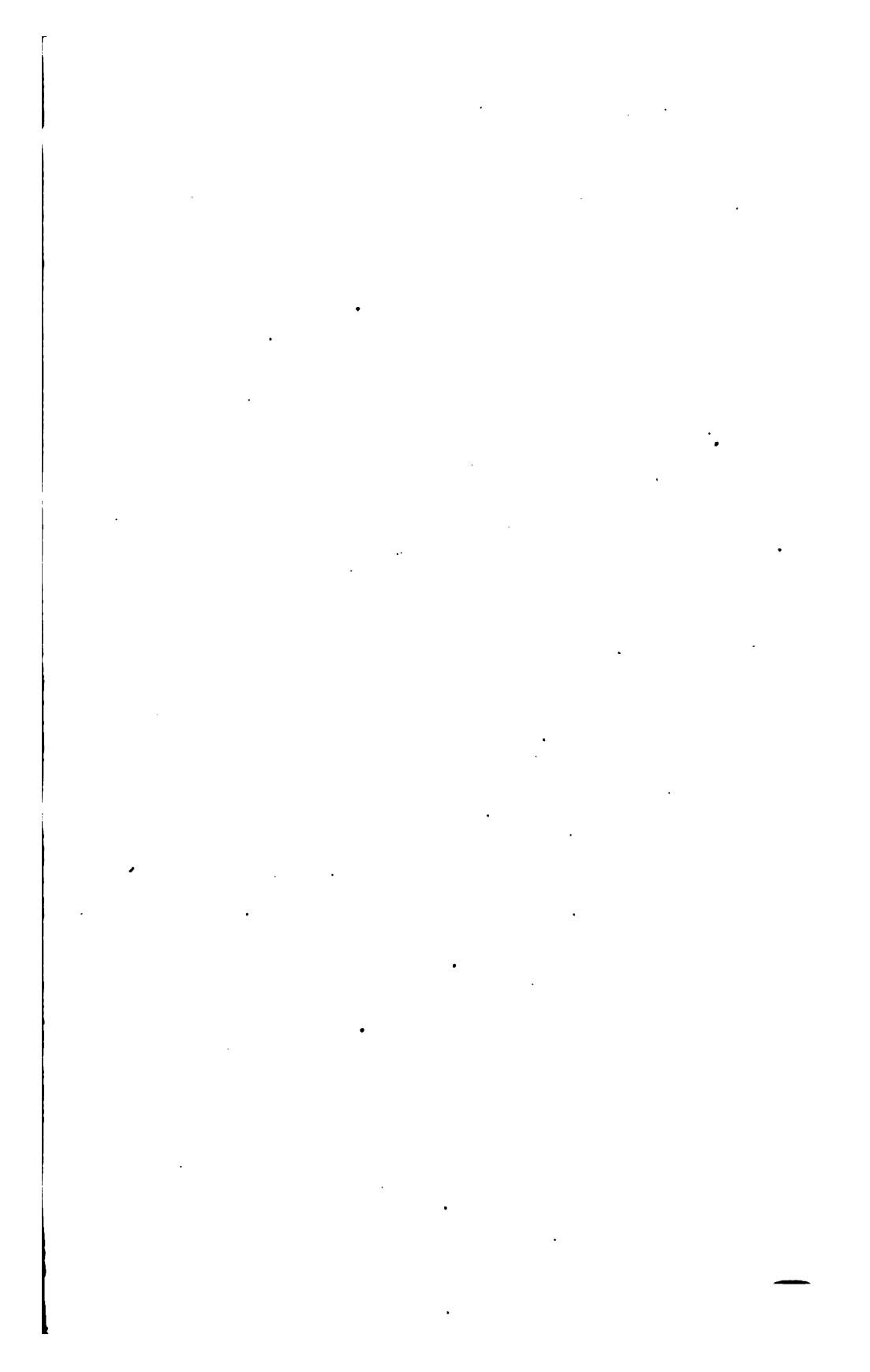
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